

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XIII

JANUARY, 1919

NUMBER 2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Missouri Merchant One Hundred Years Ago J. B. WHITE	91
Early Days on Grand River and The Mormon War ROLIN J. BURTON	112
Missouri Capitals and Capitols JONAH VILES	135
Gottfried Duden's Report, 1824-1827 TRANSLATED—WM. G. REE	157
Historical Notes and Comments	182

Published Quarterly by

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF MISSOURI

COLUMBIA

"Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Columbia, Missouri, under
the Act of October 3, 1917, Sec. 442."

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

Subscription Price \$1.00 a Year

The *Missouri Historical Review* is a quarterly magazine devoted to Missouri history, genealogy and literature. It is now being sent to eleven hundred members of the Society. The subscription price is one dollar a year.

Each number of the *Review* contains several articles on Missouri and Missourians. These articles are the result of research work in Missouri history. The style of presentation is as popular as is permissible in a publication of this character.

Missourians are interested in their State Historical Society. The *Review* appeals to this interest by summarizing the recent activities of the Society. It also does this of other state-wide organizations of a historical or patriotic character. Important historical happenings are also chronicled and members of the Society are urged to make this complete for their sections of Missouri. The general Missouri items include biographical sketches of individuals in public life or of historic fame.

Manuscripts and letters on all Missouri subjects of a historical or biographical nature are welcome, and will be read and decided upon with as little delay as possible.

Twelve volumes of the *Review* have been published. A few complete sets are still obtainable from the Society—Vols. 1-12, bound in best library buckram, \$40.00; unbound, \$25.00. Separate volumes, unbound, except Vol. 1, as follows: Vols. 2, 3 and 6, each \$3.00; Vols. 4 and 5, each \$2.00; Vols. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12, each \$1.00. Prices of reprints of most important articles given on request.

All editorial and business communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.



THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XIII, No. 2

COLUMBIA

JANUARY, 1919

THE MISSOURI MERCHANT ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.¹

JOHN BARBER WHITE.

Trade and commercialism were the chief factors in drawing the first settlers to Missouri. The attraction of the immense possibilities in fur trading caused the early homes and settlements along the rivers and in the valleys of Missouri, and led to the establishment of trading posts at St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve and other places during the Spanish occupation.

I am indebted to that great Missouri historian, Col. Louis Houck, in his *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, for many of these historical facts, which he has recovered from the dim past and which he has dug up and preserved for future generations.

He mentions the oldest settlement, Ste. Genevieve. Among the early merchants and traders there was a Louis Lambert, who was the wealthiest and most important. Louis Viviat, Francis Datchurnt and Louis Duchonquette were also prominent traders, as were the Valles and Henry Peyroux de la Condreniere, Post Commandants, and Walter Kennedy, brother of Patrick Kennedy of Kaskaskia, a noted

¹Address delivered at banquet at Daniel Boone Tavern, Columbia, Missouri, on January 8th, 1918, in celebration of the 100th Anniversary of the filing with Congress of the first petition of Missourians requesting statehood.

English speaking trader at Ste. Genevieve. Jeduthen Kendall had a tannery and made boots and shoes there nearly a hundred years ago.

It was John Nicholas Maclot, who had once suffered imprisonment in the Bastile suspected of republican sentiments, who, when released, came to Philadelphia and was a merchant there for several years. He came to St. Louis with a stock of goods, a hundred years ago, and later with Moses Austin, a Connecticut pioneer, who was working lead mines in Potosi, went to Herculaneum on the bluff of the river and established a shot tower.

Mr. Houck mentions Moses Austin as a big representative of commercialism in the enterprises and mine operations in the district. In 1820 he followed his son, Stephen F., to Texas. He succeeded in obtaining from the local government a recommendation permitting him to establish on Texas soil three hundred families from the United States. He died in 1821, aged fifty-seven years, just as he had received word that the Spanish government had approved of his colonization plans.

Laclede as the representative of Maxent and Company was sent up the river, not to establish a town, but to trade in furs; but the town grew up around him.

See Houck's chapter on St. Louis for a record of all the big traders, including the Chouteaus, Martigny, Cerre, Clay Morgan, Manuel de Lisa, James Mackey and others. Lisa helped establish the Oregon Trail and was the most prominent man of 1807-8 engaged in the fur trade of that period. In the winter of 1808-9 he helped organize the Missouri Fur Company. He made extended voyages far up the Missouri, as far as Kansas City and beyond, as did also James Mackey and Gen. Ashley; the latter an early explorer of the Rocky Mountains.

Read what Houck says about Col. George Morgan, who was so closely connected with the early history of New Madrid. He brought many Americans into what is now Missouri. One of these was Christopher Haynes of Pennsylvania, who was Colonel in the Revolutionary Army in Westmoreland County.

Another was Moses Shelby from Kentucky, a brother of Gen. Isaac Shelby, who came with other Kentuckians. Dr. Dorsey and Dr. Richard James Waters were merchants and traders in New Madrid, and Louis Lorimer from Canada established a trading post at Cape Girardeau. Daniel Steinbeck and Frederick Steinbeck, Maj. Thomas W. Waters, a Revolutionary soldier from South Carolina, and others, also established trading posts at Cape Girardeau.

In Scharf's *History of St. Louis* is mentioned the merchant Francis Vigo of the mercantile firm of Vigo and Yosti, who rendered personal service in the Revolutionary War and sacrificed his fortune in redeeming continental paper to the extent of four thousand pounds.² Also see Walter B. Steven's *Missouri The Center State*. This gives the wonderful exploits of George Rogers Clark and his three hundred and fifty Virginians and Kentuckians in 1778 and 1779.³ Clark wrote from St. Louis July, 1778, that "Our friends the Spainards, are doing everything in their power to convince me of their friendship."

Francis Vigo of St. Louis was of great help in the Kaskas-and Vincennes expeditions. Stevens says that Clark made repeated expeditions to St. Louis before he started in February, 1779, across the Illinois prairies. He had raised in St. Louis nearly twenty thousand dollars for his little army. Father Gibault, the priest who alternated between St. Louis and Kaskaskia, gave his savings of years—one thousand dollars—and he and his Kaskaskia parishioners knelt and prayed for American success at Vincennes. It was Col. Vigo, a citizen of St. Louis, who gave to Clark the information which enabled him to capture Hamilton and Vincennes. Father Gibault was in Kaskaskia and had the currency there when Commander Clark took this British Post on July 4th, 1778. So it was St. Louis merchants and St. Louis citizens who helped to make success in the Revolutionary War. Gabriel Cerre should be mentioned as another prominent St. Louis merchant who helped to finance General George Rogers

²Vol. I, p. 191.

Vol. II, p. 538.

Clark's expedition against Vincennes in the Revolutionary War.

The free and unrestricted exercise of trade and commerce throughout the world is stimulating to the civilization of the world. The exchange of commodities of one country with that of another brings the products of each country, as well as the best in art and literature, to our very doors. The world's development has largely followed the trade routes of commerce. The first efforts in the struggles of life are put forth in the struggle for bread; first for the absolute necessities and later for life's comforts and luxuries. And it is this development of all routes of travel that has enlarged our civilization in enlarging our wants and needs for the products of other climes and other peoples. While trade and commerce with the nations of the world have brought their national and international blessings to the inhabitants of the world, they have also brought strife and war. It is the selfish struggle of the infant in taking its playmates' playthings developed in the grown man and in growing nations and groups of men, for men are but children of larger growth. Our present war is an instance.

As infants and as grown ups, we often know best the law of might; but later we learn the easier and fairer methods of trade ethics and the wholesome consideration of the rights of others, and a national diplomacy that is not born of deceit. It was trade, the search for treasure, that brought Europeans to our shores and their object was development through exploitation; exploitation of land and of the people.

Not so with some of the early Missourians who came over as far back as 1703 and landed in New Orleans with some French savants and scientific scholars, working under the authority of the French Government, and proceeded up the Great River as far as the present site of Kansas City. They came both for the material and spiritual benefit of the inhabitants. They were of the intellectual and spiritual type of men like the well known Father De Smet, who came over a hundred years later. Their records are still on file in France.

They show from the maps they made that they stopped for a time at what is now Jefferson City and went farther up to the mouth of the Kaw. Theirs was not a mercantile exploitation, but was wholly a magnanimous and Christian mission for the elevation of man.

See an address given before the Missouri Valley Historical Society in Kansas City, February 7, 1914, by Father William J. Dalton. I also wish to acknowledge the historical data collected for me by the efficient secretary of that Society, Mrs. Nettie Thompson Grove.

First comes the explorer, who may become a commercial exploiter in laying the foundation for a future permanent and growing development in civilization. He helped in the planting, but the spirit of love and sacrifice is necessary to intelligent national growth.

Comparatively few may know that the great American naturalist, John James Audubon, was a merchant in Ste. Genevieve.⁴ He was born near New Orleans, Louisiana, May 4, 1780. He was educated in Paris, but returned to the United States in eastern Pennsylvania about 1798. He married in 1808 and first became a merchant in Louisville, Kentucky, and then removed to Hendersonville. After making unsuccessful efforts in mercantile business at Hendersonville, Audubon and his partner, Rosier, decided to remove their business to Ste. Genevieve on the Mississippi River.

"Putting our goods, which consisted of three hundred barrels of whiskey, sundry dry goods, and powder, on board a keel-boat, my partner, my clerk and self departed in a severe snow storm. The boat was new, staunch, and well trimmed, and had a cabin in her bow. A long steering oar, made of the trunk of a slender tree about sixty feet in length, and shaped at its outer extremity like the fin of a dolphin, helped to steer the boat, while the four oars from the bow impelled her along, when going with the current, about five miles an hour. The third day we entered Cash Creek, a very small stream, but having deep water and a good harbor. Here I met Count De Munn, who was also in a boat like ours, and bound also for Ste.

⁴See *Life of Audubon*, edited by his widow.

Genevieve. Here we learned that the Mississippi was covered with floating ice of a thickness dangerous to the safety of our craft, and indeed that it was impossible to ascend the river against it. . . .

.....
We arrived in safety at Ste. Genevieve and there found a favorable market. Our whiskey was especially welcome, and what we had paid twenty-five cents a gallon for, brought us Two Dollars. Ste. Genevieve was then an old French town, twenty miles below St. Louis, not so large, as dirty, and I was not half so pleased with the time spent there as with that spent in the Tawapatee Bottom."⁸

We read that Audubon was not pleased with Ste. Genevieve and longed to be back with his young wife in Kentucky. He sold out to Rosier. It develops that Audubon's clerk was named Nathaniel Pope.

In 1793 two flouring mills were established, one at New Madrid and one at Ste. Genevieve, with the purpose of promoting agricultural settlements and commerce along the Missouri and Mississippi.

The early mercantile history of Missouri and of its merchants is so great that one cannot cover the subject in much detail in a paper for an evening's reading. The best that can be done is to give names and authorities. Reference may also be had to the following:

Missourians One Hundred years Ago, by the Hon. Walter B. Stevens, President of the State Historical Society of Missouri, 1917. This is a wonderfully interesting booklet of about fifty pages and should be read by every Missourian.

Chittenden in his monumental work on the *History of the Fur Trade* is the best authority on the close relation existing between the early Missouri merchant and fur trader and the Indians. He has reproduced many of the old letters and diaries of the men of those days that are invaluable sources of information. These extracts from a letter of Thomas Forsyth to Lewis Cass, dated St. Louis, October 24, 1831, reveal the widespread character of the trade and the ascendancy maintained by the American Fur Company in this field.⁹

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁹Chittenden, III. 926 f.

"The fur trade of the countries bordering on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, as high up the former river as above the Falls of St. Anthony, and the later as the Sioux establishment some distance above Council Bluffs, is carried on now in the same manner as it ever has been. This trade continues to be monopolized by the American Fur Company, who have divided the whole of the Indian country into departments, as follows: Farnham and Davenport have all the country of the Sauk and Fox Indians . . . also the Iowa Indians, who live at or near the [Black] Snake Hills on the Missouri river. [St. Joseph] . . . Mr. Cabanne (of the American Fur Company) has in his division all the Indians on the Missouri as high as a point above the Council Bluffs, including the Pawnee Indians of the interior, in about a southwest direction from his establishment. Mr. Auguste P. Chouteau has within his department all the Indians of the Osage country and others who may visit his establishment, such as the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and other Indians. Messrs. McKenzie, Laidlaw and Lamont have in their limits the Sioux Indians of the Missouri, and as high up the river as they choose to send or go. The American Fur Company brings on their goods annually in the spring season to this city [St. Louis] from New York, which are then sent up the Missouri to the different posts in a small steamboat.⁷ At those places the furs are received on board and brought down to St. Louis, where they are opened, counted, weighed, repacked, and shipped by steamboats to New Orleans, thence on board of vessels to New York, where the furs are unpacked, made up into bales, and sent to the best markets in Europe, except some of the finest (particularly otter skins) which are sent to China."

"The goods of Mr. A. P. Chouteau are transported by water in keel-boats as high up the Osage river as the water will admit; from thence they are carried in wagons to his establishment in the interior of the country.⁸ In the spring of the year when the Arkansas is high Mr. Chouteau sends his furs down that river to New Orleans, from whence they are shipped to New York.

"By the time that the Indians have gathered their corn, the traders are prepared with their goods to give them credits. The articles of merchandise which the traders take with them to the Indian country are as follows: viz., blankets 3 points, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$, 2, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$, 1; common blue stroud; ditto red; blue cloth; scarlet do; calicoes; domestic cottons; rifles and shot guns, gunpowder, flints, and lead; knives of different kinds; looking glasses; vermilion and verdigris; copper, brass and tin kettles; beaver and muskrat traps; fine and

⁷This was as late as 1831. Before 1819 there were no steamboats on the Missouri.

⁸*Ibid.*, 928 f.

common bridles and spurs; silver works; needles and thread; wampum; horses; tomahawks and half axes, etc. All traders at the present day give credit to the Indians in the same manner as has been the case for the last sixty or eighty years. That is to say, the articles which are passed on credit are given at very high prices. Formerly, when the opposition and competition in the Indian trade was great, the traders would sell in the spring of the year, payment down, for less than one-half of the prices at which they charged the same articles to the same Indians on credit the preceding autumn. This was sometimes the occasion of broils and quarrels between the traders and the Indians, particularly when the latter made bad hunts.

"The following are the prices charged for some articles given on credit to the Sauk and Fox Indians, whose present population exceeds six thousand souls and who are compelled to take goods, etc., of the traders at their very high prices, because they cannot do without them, for if the traders do not supply their necessary wants and enable them to support themselves, they would literally starve. An Indian takes on credit from a trader in the autumn—

A 3-point blanket at	\$10.00
A rifle gun	30.00
A pound of gunpowder	4.00
<hr/>	
Total Indian dollars	\$44.00

The 3-point blanket will cost in England, say, 16 shillings per pair

1 blanket at 100 per cent is equal to . . .	\$3.52
A rifle gun costs in this place from	
\$12 to	13.00
A pound of gunpowder20
<hr/>	
	\$16.72
Add 25 per cent for expenses	4.18
<hr/>	
	\$20.90

Therefore, according to this calculation (which I know is correct), if the Indian pays all his debt, the trader is a gainer of more than 100 per cent. But it must be here observed that the trader takes for a dollar a large buckskin, which may weigh six pounds, or two doeskins, four muskrats, four or five raccoons, or he allows the Indian three dollars for an otterskin, or two dollars a pound for beaver. And in my opinion the dollar which the trader receives of the Indian is not estimated too high at 125 cents, and perhaps in some instances at 150 cents.

In the spring the trader lowers his price on all goods, and will sell a 3-point blanket for five dollars, and other articles in proportion as he receives the furs down in payment, and as the Indians always reserve the finest and best furs for the spring trade. In the autumn of every year the trader carefully avoids giving credit to the Indians on any costly articles, such as silverworks, wampum, scarlet cloth, fine bridles, etc., unless it be to an Indian who he knows will pay all his debts; in which case he will allow the Indian on credit everything he wishes. Traders always prefer giving on credit gunpowder, flints, lead, knives, tomahawks, hoes, domestic cotton, etc., which they do at the rate of 300 or 400 per cent, and if one-fourth of the prices of those articles be paid, *he is amply paid*. After all the trade is over in the spring it is found that some of the Indians have paid all for which they were credited, others one-half, one-third, one-fourth, and some nothing at all; but taken altogether, the trader has received on an average one-half of the whole amount of Indian dollars for which he gave credit the preceding autumn, and calls it a tolerable business; that is, if the furs bear a good price the trader loses nothing, but if any fall in the price takes place he loses money.

"The American Fur Company ought to be satisfied with the Indians, for they have monopolized all the trade, especially at the posts before mentioned. There is a man now in this city who receives annually a sum from that company on condition that he will not enter the Indian country. They have also monopolized the whole trade on the frontiers together with the Indian annuities, and everything an Indian has to sell, yet they claim a large amount for debts due them for non-payment of credits given to the Indians at different periods."

"I visited this country as early as April, 1798, and in many conversations I had with the French people of this place, all that they could say on the subject of the Indian trade was that there were many Indian nations inhabiting the country bordering on the Missouri river who were exceedingly cruel to all the white people that went among them."

After General Wm. Ashley had some trouble with the Indians, the traders began to employ hunters to secure furs and this practice grew rather than depending on the Indians for them, according to the original method.

As an indication of the extent of fur trading business it may be stated that when the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest Company consolidated, nine hundred clerks were dismissed.⁹

⁹*Ibid.*, 933.

In 1762, the Louisiana Fur Company was organized by Maxent, Laclede and Company under charter granted by Gov. General D'Abadie for the purpose of trade in fur and minerals.

On the third day of November, 1763, a trading expedition under Laclede, with a large stock of merchandise likely to appeal to Indian taste, reached Ste. Genevieve, where a short stop was made; then continued to Fort de Chartres on the Illinois side before continuing to their original objective point, the mouth of the Missouri.

However, after a few weeks' rest at the Illinois post, Laclede, en route, was impressed by "a bluff on the western shore of the Mississippi at a sweeping curve of the river, on which now stands the city of St. Louis . . . and determined to establish here the settlement and post he desired."¹⁰

Laclede placed the active establishing of this settlement in the hands of a youth, Auguste Chouteau (his stepson), who later became a leading merchant and trader of that place. He was the first of the family whose name became associated with all this great west.

This story of merchandising in early days is told: A "typical Missourian" was hanging about a slave dealer's stall one day when the dealer asked him what he wanted. He replied that he wished to buy a negro. Making a selection from the samples on display, he was told by the slave dealer that the negro was valued at \$500.00 but that, "according to the custom of the country," he could have one year's time in which to pay the bill. But the question of debt so troubled the Missourian that he exclaimed: "No, No! I would rather pay you Six Hundred right now and be done with it!" Whereupon the slave dealer very obligingly remarked, "Very well, anything to oblige!" thereby relieving his customer's mind and at the same time adding \$100 to his own pocket.¹¹

At the time of the cession Ste. Genevieve was a more important place (it is reasonable to believe) than St. Louis, from a commercial point of view. At this time "the princi-

¹⁰Davis and Durrie's *Hist. Mo.*, 14.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 34.

pal St. Louis merchants and traders were Auguste Chouteau, Pierre Chouteau, Manuel Lisa, Labadie, and Sarpy, Clamorgan, McCune & Co., and Messrs. Horte, Pratte, Gratiot, Tayon, Lacompte, Papin, Cabanne, Alvarez, Lebaume, and Soulard."¹²

"The merchant of those times, it must be remembered, was a different personage, in all his business relations, from the merchant of today.¹³ His warehouse occupied only a few feet;¹⁴ his merchandise usually was stored in a large box or chest, and was only brought to view when a customer appeared. Sugar, coffee, tobacco, blankets, salt, guns, dry goods, etc., were all consigned to the same general receptacle."

"Imported luxuries, such as tea, brought enormous prices, because of the length of time involved in mercantile transactions * * * Sugar was \$2.00 a pound, and tea could be purchased at the same price; other articles being sold at prices just as high in proportion. Tea was comparatively unknown to the masses." These prices prevailed in St. Louis according to Davis & Durrie probably at the time of the cession of the territory to the United States. It was but a few years until more normal prices prevailed, according to a letter, one of a series, owned by the Missouri Valley Historical Society.

This letter, dated St. Louis, December 29, 1820, is addressed to Nathaniel Jacobs, Catskill, N. Y., and is signed by J. Klein. It quotes the following prices: fine flour, five dollars a barrel; pork and beef, three dollars a hundred; butter, twenty-five cents a pound; lard, ten cents; coffee, thirty-seven and a half cents; red onions, often four dollars a bushel., etc. Also sugar was twelve and a half cents a pound, tea one dollar and sixty cents, and salt from one dollar to one dollar and a half for a bushel of fifty pounds.

Scharf in his *History of St. Louis* writes of the old St. Louis merchants as follows:¹⁵

¹²*Ibid.*, 35.

¹³*Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁴Brackenridge says his store was usually in his own home.—*Nettie T. Grove*.

¹⁵Vol. I, p. 287.

"Its early traders, from the very first, undertook extensive operations and embraced wide areas in their transactions, employing not only capital, but the best men who could be found. Laclede had his partners in New Orleans, and the most of his time was spent in establishing trading posts up the Arkansas, the St. Francis, and the Red Rivers. The Chouteaus spent years among the Indians, acquiring such a familiarity with their language and manners and customs that they were sought after by the government as Indian agents and interpreters. In addition to the posts which Laclede established, they had stations on the Osage, the Upper Missouri, the Des Moines, and on Lake Michigan. Vigo traded from St. Louis to Vincennes, thence to Montreal and Detroit, and back again to New Orleans. Gratiot traded to Prairie du Chien and New Orleans, and went to England in the regular routine of business for his partners. Manuel Lisa was an explorer as much as a fur-trader, and he was as ready to fight his rivals and the Indians as to buy their peltries."

"Charles Gratiot and Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, indeed, were merchants such as sometimes do not appear more than once in a century. The former, for all he did business in Cahokia, and had lawsuits with Sanguinet of St. Louis, was better known in New York and Philadelphia than in the latter town, and better known in Paris, London, and Geneva than on this continent. . . . As a business man, Pierre Chouteau is said to have had no rival in the valley of the Mississippi for forty years. The very genius of commerce inspired him, and the plans of this Indian trader, who got his earliest training among the Osages, on the borders of Kansas, reached out wide like the arms of the Mississippi River. . . . Men of this sort ought to have been able to build up their own town, since they built up others when it suited their business. Note this of the founding of New Madrid by Cerre."¹⁶

Cerre sent two penniless French adventurers down the river to find a suitable place for placing a trading post.

The first point deemed advantageous was a large Delaware Indian town where New Madrid now stands. Mr. Cerre accepted their report, erecting the building and stocking it with a large amount of goods. Some years later the son of one of these adventurers reports doing \$60,000 or \$70,000 worth of business annually in furs for Pierre Chouteau at this same trading post.¹⁷

¹⁶Cerre was a St. Louis Merchant, originally from Kaskaskia.

¹⁷Scharf, I, 288.

"This business it was which established St. Louis at once, gave the town stability, and the leading inhabitants incentives to enterprise and control of wealth. Hunters found regular employment and good pay in the little trading-post town, and they profited by it. The spot, indeed, had been a hunter's paradise from the first, as well as a fur-trader's goal. . . . The hunters went forth from St. Louis to gather furs and peltries for the traders of St. Louis, and from Laeclède's day up to 1830 the town was the general rendezvous of hunters and fur traders, and the Montreal of the Mississippi, and the depot of all the basin of the great rivers emptying into that river between the Minnesota and the Rio del Norte."¹⁸

"After the demise of this company [The Missouri Fur Company] the Chouteaus, Lisa, and Astor formed an alliance under the name and style of the American Fur Company, the successor of the Missouri and the Rocky Mountain Companies; and when Astor withdrew, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., became himself the American Fur Company. This company continued the work of the two companies which it had succeeded, opened up and explored the Rocky Mountains and Western waters, and for thirty years held a monopoly of the fur trade south of the vast regions ranged over by the Hudson's Bay Company. The firm did business on a very large scale, and at one time owned and maintained five forts, all built by themselves in the heart of the Indian country—Forts Sarpy, Benton, Union, Pierre, and Berthold. . . ."¹⁹

"This trade was very valuable. The average returns on goods sent out was 100 per cent in peltries, and this by no means represented the actual profits, for the goods were valued at their selling price in St. Louis, not their cost, and the peltries at their currency value in St. Louis. But red cloth that might retail at 5s. a yard in St. Louis probably did not cost the companies more than 3s., including freight, interest, and insurance; and on the other hand, beaver worth \$2.00 a pound in St. Louis might fetch twice as much in London, and five times as much in Canton."²⁰

It is easily judged, therefore, the per cent of profit upon which the St. Louis merchant builded his fortune.

"Brackenridge, in his 'Views of Louisiana,' notes the fact that in 1810 the Indian trade of St. Louis with the Osages alone was worth \$30,000, or nearly \$6 per capita, the outlay in goods being \$20,000—a profit of 50 per cent measured in furs. With the Cheyennes the trade was expected to yield a profit of 100 per cent,

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 289.

²⁰*Ibid.*

and so also with the Poncas and Ariokarees. The trade with the Crows was counted on to return three for one, and that with the Pastanounas fifteen for four. The trade at Arkansas Post with the Chickasaws and Cherokees yielded five for two, and that with the various bands of Sioux four for one."¹¹

"Fur was the currency of St. Louis from the days of Laclede very nearly until Missouri became a State and the town an incorporated city. Other things were taken in exchange and barter—beeswax, whiskey, potash, maple-sugar, salt, wood, feathers, bear's oil, venison, fish, lead, but fur was the currency and standard of value, the representative of and equivalent to the *livres tournois* of hard metal. The only small coin consisted of Mexican dollars, cut with a chisel into four or five pieces—"bits." A pound of shaved deerskin of good quality represented about twice the value of the livre, and a pound of beaver, otter, and ermine represented so many pounds of deerskin. A "pack" of skins had a definite weight, and thus trade and computation were both easy. Checks and notes were drawn against them, deposits were made of furs and packs, and on the whole they constituted a much better and more uniform currency than the staple tobacco which was at one time the only circulating medium of Virginia and Maryland. "Bons" were a species of order or note for goods, redeemable in peltries, which, when signed with the name of any responsible merchant or trader, had full currency in local and general trade. Practically, they were certificates of deposit, but convertible or exchangeable into any other equivalents in the course of trade and barter. Next to the peltry, which had a regular currency and pretty near a uniform value from Mackinaw, Detroit, and Prairie du Chien among the French settlements all the way to New Orleans and the Belize, the best medium of certain value, but only of limited circulation, was the "carot" of tobacco. This article is still prepared in Louisiana by the plantation manufacturers of tobacco, and "carots" of "Perique" may still be seen in all the tobaccoists' shops—a solid roll of the shape and appearance of a bologna sausage. These rolls were called "carots," from their resemblance to the root of that name, and they were in common use and demand in the early days in Lower and Upper Louisiana from their convenience. All the grown population, male and female, took snuff; each carried his or her snuff-box habitually, and each prepared his snuff and filled his box in the morning. The snuff was not ground as now, but rasped or grated from the end of one of these rolls, and hence their form and solidity was a desideratum. The carots had a definite weight, like the packs of furs, and their usual value was about two livres."¹²

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Ibid.*, 291. A livre was worth about eighteen and a half cents at that time

"The fixed price was forty cents per pound for finest deer-skins, thirty cents for medium, and twenty cents for inferior, and all contracts, unless there was an express stipulation to the contrary, were made in this medium. Spanish coin never affected the fur currency. The Spanish government paid off its officers and troops in hard dollars, but this was a mere drop in the bucket—less than twelve thousand dollars a year for St. Louis. Even after the transfer to the United States, peltry continued the controlling currency for a number of years. Judge J. B. C. Lucas made his first purchase of a house for his residence in St. Louis in this currency, buying of Pierre Duchouquette and wife their domicile, for the price of six hundred dollars in peltries. This was December 14, 1807."²³

These peltries were redeemable in money only at New Orleans, and as the skins were subject to risk and loss on the way, the merchant sold his goods at a price proportionate to the venture. Everything sold at an enormous price, the result being that a common workman received ten to twelve francs a day.²⁴

Scharf paid this remarkable tribute to Robert Campbell, fur trader and St. Louis merchant:²⁵

"Years before, however, Col. Campbell had gained an enviable reputation for great energy of character, rare administrative ability, and dauntless courage, in connection with his fur-trading operations in the Indian country, in conducting which he did as much perhaps as any other single individual to give St. Louis her early fame in the far west. . . . General Ashley retired in 1830, having amassed a fortune, and then Campbell rose from being merely a leader of expeditions to the position of a prominent partner in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, which was organized upon the withdrawal of Gen. Ashley, the leading spirits in its formation being Robert Campbell and Col. William Sublette. The American Fur Company, represented by Chouteau & Co., was an energetic rival in the field, and the vastness of the operations of these competitors appears from the fact that when, in order to prevent ruinous rivalry on the same ground, a division of the territory was agreed upon, there fell to Mr. Campbell's company all the immense region west and south of a line commencing on the Arkansas River at a point south of the Platte, on the twenty-

²³*Ibid.*, 292.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵*Ibid.*, 370 f.

fourth meridian, up to the forks of the Platte, thence to the dividing line of the waters emptying into the Platte and the waters emptying into the upper Missouri, thence to the Rocky Mountains, and thence to the forks of the Missouri. . . . John Jacob Astor had a house in St. Louis, and there were also engaged in the trade Gen. Ashley, Campbell, Sublette, Manuel Lisa, Capt. Perkins, Hempstead, William Clark, Labadie, the Chouteaus, and Pierre Menard—"mighty hunters before the Lord"—all of whom either lived in St. Louis or made it their headquarters. . . . Campbell's straightforward and truthful dealings made a similarly happy impression on the Indians. He never deceived or cheated them, as many white men had done, and therefore enjoyed their perfect confidence and friendship."²⁶

Campbell acquired a large fortune in the fur trade and upon returning to St. Louis engaged in mercantile and other pursuits and became an extensive owner of real estate.

One of the first cotton dealers in Missouri Territory was John Mullanphy, of whom Brackenridge has recorded the following story:

Mullanphy speculated largely in cotton, and it was his bales with which Jackson erected a defense at New Orleans. When the owner entered complaint against such use of his property, Jackson replied—

"This is your cotton? Then no one has better a right to defend it. Take a musket and stand in the ranks." After peace was declared, Mullanphy dug out his cotton and cleared \$1,000,000 on it in the Liverpool market.²⁷

The first record of a trading deal on the site of St. Louis was in the digging of the first cellars in the town. A group of the Missouris were drawn down to the site of the new town in search of aid from the white men, and Auguste Chouteau had the squaws dig the cellars for the houses he was building.

Brackenridge says that the squaws were paid in beads and ornaments, but Chouteau's diary says he gave them vermilion, awls and verdigris.²⁸

Probably the most noted merchant of the day of American birth was General William Ashley, who emigrated to this

²⁶This Robert Campbell was an uncle of Dr. W. L. Campbell, of Kansas City, who is a member of the Missouri Valley Historical Society.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 138.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 69.

territory from Virginia in 1803. He was also one of the most noted of the fur traders and established the trade with Utah in 1824.

Early St. Louis is thus described by one author:

"When this territory was ceded in 1804 in St. Louis there were one bakery, two taverns, three blacksmiths, two mills and one doctor. The settlement was well supplied with merchants who held their goods at exorbitant prices. Coffee and sugar each at \$2 per pound. . . . Stores of the day were commonly stored in family homes and were a general assortment from fish hooks to lexicons."¹⁹

"No scales were in use in St. Louis prior to 1831. . . . Coal was sold by the bushel or wagon load. And hay by the load—so much for so much."²⁰

Another author writing of the fur trade, shows the great importance of this industry to St. Louis:

"The average annual value of the furs collected in St. Louis for fifteen successive years (ending 1804) is stated to have been \$203,750.00. James Pursley in 1802 was first hunter and trapper, and probably the first American who traversed the great plains between the United States and New Mexico. The Missouri Fur Company with a capital of \$40,000.00 was organized in this city (St. Louis) in 1808, and the hunters in its employ were the first who pitched their camps on the waters of the Oregon. That company was dissolved in 1812. Between the years 1824 and 1827 General Ashley and his men sent to St. Louis furs to the value of \$180,000. The annual value of the fur trade for forty years (1804-1847) has averaged from two to three hundred thousand dollars, and hence an important item in the growth of St. Louis."²¹

Major Amos Stoddard was the American representative in the formal transfer of Upper Louisiana at St. Louis in 1804, and was the first American commandant at that place. He wrote of his impressions of this new country and his book is valuable for its reliable information. He wrote in part:

"Agriculture and industry, by which wealth is at first accumulated in new regions, necessarily precedes commerce, and are the foundations of it."²²

¹⁹Shepard's *History of St. Louis*, p. 35.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 113.

²¹Perkin's, *Annals of the West*, pp. 807f.

²²Stoddard, *Sketches of Louisiana*, p. 293.

"Had Indian commerce been wholly prohibited, or confined to a few exclusive traders only, and the settlers generally restricted to agriculture, and to the acquisition of raw materials for foreign markets, the power of France in America would have been much more formidable than it was."³³

The following great industrial activities were sources of revenue in early Missouri history: mining, Indian fur trade, frontier military posts, Mexican trade, outfitting Western expeditions. Thirty years later, in 1848, came the California gold rush.

Beltrami wrote in 1828....."The trade of St. Louis is prodigiously increased. The merchandise it furnishes to the traders with the Indians to the north and west in exchange for furs, which are almost all sent hither—the provisions with which it supplies all the garrisons and new settlements over the whole extent of this vast country—are sources of great profit, as well as of constant employment for all classes."

In the first decade of the nineteenth century Auguste Chouteau was the richest man in St. Louis. His taxes were \$87.42, altho the rate of assessment seems to have been only one-half cent on the dollar, and total exemptions on some classes of property.³⁴ Bartholomew Berthold was called the most finished and accomplished merchant of his day in St. Louis.³⁵ Berthold, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., John Pierre Cabanne and Bernard Pratte became connected with John Jacob Astor as partners in trade, under the name of the American Fur Company. They all made large sums of money.³⁶

I want to call attention to Hon. Wm. P. Borland's masterful speech in the House of Representatives, May 22nd, 1911, on "Missouri the Mother of Empires," and I urge also that one read and preserve that splendid address of former Governor Herbert S. Hadley before the meeting of the Missouri Valley Historical Society in Kansas City, Missouri, April 19, 1913.

No record of the Missouri Merchant One Hundred Years Ago is complete without reference to that great artery of

³³*Ibid.*, p. 295.

³⁴*Scharf*, I, 103.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 196 fn.

³⁶*Ibid.*

trade, the Sante Fe Trail. The town of Franklin in Howard county was the cradle of the Sante Fe Trail, which was made up so largely of Missouri merchants. This work really began in 1819, and when a yearly record began to be kept of this trade, in 1822, we find that that year the merchandise amounted to 15,000 pounds; in 1828, 150,000 pounds, 100 wagons and 200 men; in 1831, 250,000 pounds, 130 wagons and 320 men; in 1843, 450,000 pounds, 230 wagons and 320 men. The classic authority on the Sante Fe Trail and the trade development is found in the book published in 1844 in New York and London, by Dr. Josiah Gregg, and is said to be the foundation of every work on this subject since its appearance.

Senator Benton in his *Thirty Years View* speaks highly of Col. James Magoffin, who was a great merchant and lived at one time at Independence. He aided the United States Government in the Doniphan expedition, and it was through his work and diplomacy with the Mexican authorities that New Mexico became United States territory without the shedding of blood. Benton said that he wished posterity to know the sacrifices made by Magoffin in the interest of his country.

The tale of the origin of the Oregon Trail, beginning in 1808, is almost like that of the Sante Fe Trail. They were both the most direct and available routes between trade centers and starting from the Missouri River.¹⁷

I will close with an extract from Col. D. C. Allen's paper on "The Bonnet Show at Big Shoal Creek Meeting House, Clay County, Missouri." Col. Allen is eighty-three years old and lives at Liberty, Missouri. This paper is recorded in the archives of the Missouri Valley Historical Society.

"The beginnings of Liberty (Clay county) were in 1821 and, until after the building of Weston and Platte City, and even somewhat later, was the center of trade and fashion in all the surrounding country north of the Missouri River. In the county it maintained its pre-eminence in a degree until Kansas City assumed importance and trade was attracted thither. Here was the town, one can see, for a period almost the only town in the

¹⁷Wm. E. Connelley. *Kansas and Kansans*.

county, where ladies could purchase fine goods, fashionable bonnets, etc., in the springtime.

"The first settlers in Clay county—far back in 1819 and the early twenties—could have hauled in their wagons but little beyond absolute necessities. Finery could not have been largely considered. The slow and laborious navigation of the Missouri River by keel boats added something, but not much, to the comforts and convenience of the people.

"But, after Long's Expedition up the Missouri River in 1819 by steamboat, its navigation by steam began to develop. By 1826 it assumed something like regularity. Allen's landing three and one-half miles south of Liberty was established in 1825. At once on the beginning of steam navigation of the River, the merchants of Liberty began to purchase for local trade fine goods, bonnets and the like in Philadelphia and their fine groceries in Baltimore. This continued for a number of years. Merchants left Liberty for the east to make their spring and summer purchases early in February. Their purchases began to arrive in Liberty during the latter part of March, or the forepart of April. The stores in Liberty thus became centers of attraction for the ladies, old and young, in Clay and the surrounding country. The spring bonnets! The spring bonnets! It was a race with all the girls for the first pick of the new bonnets.

"Mr. W. S. Embree (now in his ninety-sixth year) says the annual bonnet show at the Big Shoal Church was in existence prior to 1835. It could not well have had a beginning until fine goods, above all spring bonnets, could be transported up the Missouri River and displayed in the store of Liberty. The origin, then, of the bonnet show was near 1826. Then, and for many years later, there was no church in Clay County which attracted so many persons to its religious service, particularly on the Second Sunday in May, the annual exhibition of the spring bonnet show, as did the Big Shoal Meeting House, the Church of the Primitive Baptists.

"During all those years it was the fashionable church of Clay county. The second Sunday in May was its pre-eminent day in the year. Nature, commerce, and social life, here in Clay county were in harmony. The second Sunday in May is in the midst of the most flowery and delightful part of the spring. Nothing could be more natural than that the belles and beaux of all the surrounding country should instinctively flock to the Big Shoal Meeting House at the great annual meeting on the second Sunday in May to see and chat with each other. By that time the ladies, young and old, would have secured their new spring bonnets and dresses. The girls could display their youthful charms to the

very best advantage. The side of the church allotted to the ladies would be a mass of colors, topped by a gorgeous array of spring bonnets. Some person of happy thought and good taste, some phrase maker, seeing the gaily attired mass of femininity, conceived and gave expression to the term "bonnet show." It took hold firmly in the minds of the people and holds until this day."

EARLY DAYS ON GRAND RIVER AND THE MORMON WAR.

ROLLIN J. BRITTON.*

FIRST ARTICLE.

*The following story of the Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War is believed by the compiler to be authentic history. In its preparation free use has been made of public records and documents and of the writings of Joseph Smith, Jr., Major Joseph H. McGee, Lyman Wight, Major Reburn S. Holcombe, James H. Hunt, Heman C. Smith and others.

Much personal assistance has been rendered the compiler by Rev. Frank R. Gillihan, formerly of Gallatin, Mo.; W. O. Tague, Circuit Clerk of Daviess County, Mo.; Heman C. Smith, historian of the Re-Organized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; Herbert F. McDougal, litterateur; Col. Boyd Dudley, of Gallatin, Mo.; and Wm. R. Handy, of Gallatin, Mo.; while the task of putting the manuscript into shape for the printer has devolved upon Mrs. Mabel Andersen of Independence, Missouri, whose faithful labor in the interest of history has made this publication possible.—The Author.

The white man first entered that part of the Grand River Country in Missouri now known as Daviess county in 1830. The only semblance to towns that he found therein were certain Indian camps, the last one of which passed away in 1834, when the Indians allowed the embers to die out in the great camp fire at the head of Auberry Grove, north of the site of the present town of Jamesport.

In the autumn of 1831 Robert P. Peniston, Sr., moved his family and slaves, among the latter being Jacob and Henry Peniston, from Kentucky to Missouri; the family remained in lower Ray county that winter, while William P. Peniston, the eldest son, accompanied by the two slaves, Jacob and Henry, and the wife of Henry, pushed on to the Grand River Country and camped on Splawn's Ridge, where they builded cabins for the family that came on in the spring of 1832, bringing Theodore Peniston, as well, with them.

The Black Hawk war was then in progress, and at its close in 1832 many of those who had been ranging the country as soldiers, were so well pleased with the Grand River Country that they concluded to settle in what is now Daviess county.

Among these was Milford Donaho, who brought his family from Ray county and settled in or near Auberry Grove. Major Joseph H. McGee described Donaho as follows: "He was one of those rare geniuses seldom found except in a new country. As a mechanic he was confined to no one trade. He was a blacksmith, gunsmith, wagon-maker, house carpenter and millwright; and though he excelled in none, he was good in all; some of the best target rifles ever used in the Grand River Country were of his make."

FOUNDING OF MILL PORT AND GALLATIN.

Robert P. Peniston, Sr., being the most prosperous man in a financial way on Grand River was urged by the settlers to build a horse mill for the grinding of corn, to which the rest of the community would pay tribute and Mr. Peniston employed Milford Donaho to erect such a mill on the Peniston land. The mill was built of logs and timbers scored and hewed by Donaho and Jacob Peniston; the latter was famous as an ax man. The burs for the mill were made by Donaho from boulders found on the prairie and were fashioned with tools that Donaho made in his blacksmith shop.

That mill was a great success and it remained the center of the milling industry on Grand River for twelve or fifteen years. Many settlers were attracted by it and a town site was surveyed and platted and Mill Port thus became the first town in that part of the Grand River Country and was getting along famously when Daviess county was organized in 1836. Its business houses relieved the settlers from the need of going to Missouri River points for supplies. Its sign boards bore the names of John A. Williams, grocer; Milford Donaho, blacksmith; Jacobs and Lomax, merchants; Worthington & McKinney, merchants; Morin and Compton, merchants and Jesse Adamson, grocer.

Theodore Peniston became the first sailor to clear the port, when he took a dug-out load of honey, beeswax, skins, etc., down Grand River to its junction with the Missouri, where he disposed of his little cargo. William P. Peniston

built and took out the first flat boat. He sailed with his flat boat load all the way to St. Louis.

Mill Port was on the east side of Grand River, at what is still known, perhaps, as the Peniston Ford. In 1837 the town of Gallatin was platted just three miles west of Mill Port. The latter had been ambitious to become the county seat of Daviess county, but Gallatin was awarded the coveted honor and with the ascendancy of Gallatin, Mill Port rapidly faded away and few people now in Daviess county know that such a pioneer town ever existed.

FOUNDING OF ADAM-ONDI-AHMAN AND FAR WEST.

The same year that Gallatin was platted, 1837, there came to Daviess County a very remarkable man in the person of Lyman Wight, who settled upon Grand River and founded a town four miles south and one-half mile west of Gallatin, the town site being located on the West half ($\frac{1}{2}$) of the Southwest quarter ($\frac{1}{4}$) of Section Thirty (30), Township Sixty (60), Range Twenty-seven (27). Lyman Wight came originally from the City of New York, where he served in the War of 1812, but his remarkable career of sufferings and achievements for his religious faith commenced with his baptism into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints at Warrensville, Ohio, by Elder Parley P. Pratt on November 14, 1830. He was ordained an Elder on November 20, 1830, and in the June conference following was ordained a high priest and shortly afterward entered upon the ministry at Independence, Missouri. His experiences for the next seven or eight years are summed up in a petition filed by him in 1839 and which is still on file in the archives at Washington, D. C., which reads as follows:

"The petition of Lyman Wight most humbly sheweth that petitioner removed from the State of Ohio to the State of Missouri, in the year 1832 (1831), where I hoped to live in peace, but after toiling and undergoing all the hardships of a new country for two years, and suffering many privations of the comforts of life, I was assailed by a lawless mob, and was driven from my house in Jackson County to Clay County; my crops and all other prop-

erty I possessed were taken from me, except a small part of household furniture. I stayed in Clay County for upwards of two years, when I was again assailed by a mob, who said I must deny my sentiments of religion or move from that County, but rather than deny my religion or be put to death, I disposed of my property at a low rate, and removed my family to Davis (Davies) County, located myself on Grand River, made an improvement, gained to myself a preemption right, on which a small town was laid off; it was then worth to me at least ten thousand dollars. But sometime in the month of September last I was ordered to leave my possessions again, and this by a mob, which was got up by Sashel Wood (a presbyterian preacher), and Doctor Craven (who have since entered my lands) without any other consideration than to get me chained up in prison and drive my family from the State without food and raiment to make them comfortable; they kept me in prison for six months, until they succeeded in driving every man, women and child (who professed the same religion that I did) out of the State, except those whom they murdered in the State, although they have never been able to substantiate the first accusation against me, yet my sufferings for seven years have been more severe than tongue can tell, or pen write."

However, Lyman Wight was not the only party who had to do with the founding and naming of the town that was thus located upon his land and which town was to become historic in the annals of his faith. The religious organization in which Lyman Wight had membership, commonly known as the Mormon Church, located its administration headquarters in Caldwell county, Missouri, in 1837 at the town founded by it and named Far West. It was at this town of Far West that Joseph Smith, Jr., the prophet, declared a revelation on April 26, 1838, which revelation definitely fixed the name of the church and also directed the prophet to do certain things that resulted in making history for Lyman Wight's town. That revelation was as follows:

Revelation given at Far West, April 26, 1838, making Known the Will of God Concerning the Building up of this Place, and of The Lord's House, etc:

"Verily thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant, Joseph Smith, Jr., and also my servant Sidney Rigdon, and also my servant Hyrum Smith, and your counselors who are and shall be appointed hereafter; and also unto you my servant, Edward Partridge, and his counselors, and also unto my faithful servants

who are of the High Council of my church in Zion (for thus it shall be called), and unto all the Elders and people of my church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, scattered abroad in all the world; for this shall my church be called in the last days, even the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Verily I say unto you all, Arise and shine forth, that thy light may be a standard for the Nations, and that the gathering together upon the land of Zion and upon her stakes may be for a defense, and for a refuge from the storms, and from wrath when it shall be poured out without mixture upon the whole earth. Let the city, Far West, be a holy and consecrated land unto me, and it shall be called most holy, for the ground upon which thou standeth is holy; therefore I command you to build an house unto me, for gathering together of my saints, that they may worship me; and let there be a beginning of this work, and a foundation, and a preparatory work, this following summer, and let the beginning be made on the 4th day of July next and from that time forth let my people labor diligently to build an house unto my name, and in one year from this day let them recommence laying the foundation of my house; thus let them from that time forth labor diligently until it shall be finished from the corner stone thereof unto the top thereof, until there shall not anything remain that is not finished.

"Verily I say unto you, let not my servant Joseph, neither my servant Sidney, neither my servant Hyrum, get in debt any more for the building of an house unto my name; but let a house be built unto my name according to the pattern which I will show unto them. And if my people build it not according to the pattern which I will show unto their Presidency, I will not accept it at their hands; but if my people do build it according to the pattern which I shall show unto their Presidency, even my servant Joseph and his counselors, then I will accept it at the hands of my people. And, again, verily I say unto you. It is my will that the city of Far West should be built up speedily by the gathering of my saints, and also that other places should be appointed for stakes in the regions round about, as they shall be manifest unto my servant Joseph from time to time; for behold I will be with him, and I will sanctify him before the people, for unto him, have I given the keys of this kingdom and ministry. Even so. Amen." (*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 147, 148.)

Pursuant to this revelation, the prophet proceeded to the appointment of other places for stakes in the region round about. His exploring trip northwards from Far West as told by himself in *The History of the Church* is as follows:

"Friday, May 18th, 1838, I left Far West in company with Sidney Rigdon, T. B. Marsh, D. W. Patten, Bishop Partridge, E. Higbee, S. Carter, Alanson Ripley and many others for the purpose of visiting the north country, and laying off a stake of Zion, making locations, and laying claims to facilitate the gathering of the Saints, and for the benefit of the poor, in upbuilding the Church of God. We traveled to the mouth of Honey Creek, which is a tributary of Grand River, where we camped for the night. We passed a beautiful country of land, a majority of which is prairie (untimbered land), and thickly covered with grass and weeds, among which is plenty of game; such as deer, turkey, hen, elk, etc. We discovered a large black wolf, and my dog gave him chase, but he outran us.

We have nothing to fear in camping out, except the rattlesnake, which is natural to this country, though not very numerous. We turned our horses loose and let them feed on the prairie.

Saturday 19th, This morning we struck our tents and formed a line of march, crossing Grand River at the mouth of Honey Creek and Nelson's Ferry. Grand River is a large, beautiful, deep, and rapid stream during the high waters of spring, and will undoubtedly admit of steam boat navigation and other water craft; and at the mouth of Honey Creek are a splendid harbor and good landing. We pursued our course up the river, mostly in the timber, about eighteen miles, when we arrived at Colonel Lyman Wight's, who lives at the foot of Tower Hill (a name I gave it in consequence of the remains of an old Nephite altar or tower), where we camped for the Sabbath.

In the afternoon, I went up the river about half a mile to Wight's Ferry, accompanied by President Ridgon and my clerk, George W. Robinson, for the purpose of selecting and laying claim to a city plat near said ferry in Daviess County, Township 60, Ranges 27 and 28, and Sections 25, 26, 31 and 30, which the brethren called Spring Hill: *but by the mouth of the Lord it was named Adam-ondi-Ahman, because said he, it is the place where Adam shall come to visit his people, or the Ancient of Days shall sit, as spoken of by Daniel the Prophet.*";

Lyman Wight also wrote about this occasion as follows:

"About June, Joseph Smith, together with many others of the principal men of the church, came to my house, and taking a view of the large bottom in the bend of the river, and the beautiful prairies on the bluffs, came to the conclusion, that it would be a handsome situation for a town. We, therefore, commenced surveying and laying off town lots, and locating government lands for many miles north of this place. This beautiful country with

its flattering prospects drew in floods of emigrants. I had not less than thirty comers and goers through the day during the three summer months, and up to the last mentioned date (last of October) there were upwards of two hundred houses built in this town, and also about forty families living in their wagons."

On June 28, 1838 a stake was organized here of which the following minutes were published:

"Adam-ondi-Ahman, Missouri, Daviess county, June 28, 1838.

A conference of Elders and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints was held in this place this day, for the purpose of organizing this stake of Zion, called Adam-ondi-Ahman.

The meeting convened at ten o'clock A. M. in the grove near the house of Elder Lyman Wight.

President Joseph Smith, Jr., was called to the chair, who explained the object of the meeting which was to organize a Presidency and High Council, to preside over this stake of Zion, and attend to the affairs of the Church in Daviess County.

It was then motioned, seconded and carried by the unanimous voice of the assembly, that President John Smith should act as President of the Stake of Adam-ondi-Ahman.

Reynolds Cahoon was unanimously chosen first Counselor, and Lyman Wight second Counselor.

After prayer the President's ordained Elder Wight as second counselor.

Vinson Knight was chosen acting bishop pro tempore, by the unanimous voice of the assembly.

President John Smith then proceeded to organize the High Council.

The counselors were chosen according to the following order, by a unanimous vote; John Lemon, 1st; Daniel Stanton, 2nd; Mayhew Hillman, 3rd; Daniel Carter, 4th; Isaac Perry, 5th; Harrison Sagers, 6th; Alanson Brown, 7th; Thomas Gordon, 8th; Lorenzo D. Barnes, 9th; George A. Smith, 10th; Harvey Olmstead, 11th; Ezra Thayer, 12th.

After the ordination of the Counselors, who had not previously been ordained to the high priesthood, President Joseph Smith, Jr., made remarks by way of charge to the Presidents and Counselors, instructing them in the duties of their callings, and the responsibility of their stations, exhorting them to be cautious and deliberate in all their councils, and to be careful and act in righteousness in all things.

President John Smith, R. Cahoon, and L. Wight then made some remarks.

Lorenzo D. Barnes was unanimously chosen clerk of this council and stake, and after singing the well-known hymn, Adam-ondi-Ahman, the meeting closed by prayer by President Cahoon, and a benediction by President Joseph Smith, Jr.

Lorenzo D. Barnes,
Isaac Perry, Clerks.

The well known hymn above referred to was perhaps sung for the first time at the dedication of the temple at Kirtland, Ohio, in 1836. Its author is unknown, but the words are as follows:

"This Earth was once a garden place,
With all her glories common;
And men did live a holy race,
And worship Jesus face to face,
In Adam-ondi-Ahman.

We read that Enoch walked with God,
Above the pow'r of Mammon;
While Zion spread herself abroad,
And Saints and angels sang aloud
In Adam-ondi-Ahman.

Her land was good and greatly blest,
Beyond old Israel's Canaan;
Her fame was known from East to West;
Her peace was great, and pure the rest
Of Adam-ondi-Ahman.

Hosanna to such days to come—
The savior's second coming—
When all the Earth in glorious bloom,
Affords the saints a holy home,
Like Adam-ondi-Ahman."

MORMAN TROUBLE IN DAVIESS COUNTY.

So auspiciously did the career of Adam-ondi-Ahman begin that Joseph H. McGee informs us that it had over five hundred inhabitants when Gallatin had but four houses, and it threatened to rival Far West and probably would have done so had not a state of civil strife ensued that resulted in the expulsion of all of the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints from the State of Missouri.

This state of war had its inception in a fight at the general election held in Gallatin on August 6, 1838, on which occasion an attempt was made to keep the "Mormons" from voting. Major Joseph H. McGee witnessed that election fight and he tells the story in the following words:

"My first visit to Gallatin was in 1838, August 6th. My father and I came to town to attend the general election held on that day. This proved to be a historical day as the great knock down between the Mormons and the Missourians took place on that day. I had been with my father at many an election in Ohio, but I never saw him so peaceably inclined at an election before.

"There was a big pile of house logs piled up in front of the little cabin where they were voting. My father and I climbed to the very top of that pile of logs and witnessed the whole battle. I had witnessed many knock downs in my time, but none on so grand a scale. Pistols were not used. Rocks and clubs were in demand, and an occasional butcher knife slipped in. Men dropped on all sides.

"I saw one poor Mormon trying to make his escape from two Missourians who were pursuing him. He had a butcher knife sticking between his shoulders. They would no doubt have succeeded in capturing him had not another Mormon by the name of John L. Butler seized a big club and rushing in between them and their victim dealt them such blows that he felled them both to the earth and allowed the Mormon, whose name was Murphy, to escape. The Missourians proved victorious and the Mormons had to leave. After the fight was over my father and I got into our wagon and returned home. This was my first debut in Gallatin. All the Mormons who took part in this fight left the county that night and moved their families to Far West in Caldwell County—this being the stronghold of the Mormons."

A more complete story of this fight from the pen of Joseph Smith, Jr. (The Prophet,) has been preserved to us in the following words:

"Some two weeks previous to this Judge Morin, who lived at Millport, informed John D. Lee and Levi Stewart that it was determined by the mob to prevent the "Mormons" from voting at the election on the sixth day of August, and thereby elect Colonel William P. Peniston, who led the mob in Clay County. He also advised them to go prepared for an attack, to stand their ground and have their rights.

"The brethren hoping better things gave little heed to Judge Morin's friendly counsel, and repaired to the polls at Gallatin, the shire town of Daviess County, without weapons. About eleven o'clock A. M. William P. Peniston ascended the head of a barrel and harrangued the electors for the purpose of exciting them against the "Mormons," saying that the "Mormon" leaders were a set of horse thieves, liars, counterfeits, etc., and you know they profess to heal the sick, cast out devils, etc.; and you know that is a d— lie; that the members of the church were dupes, and not too good to take a false oath on any common occasion; that they would steal, and he did not conceive property safe where they were; that he was opposed to their settling there; and if they suffered the "Mormons" to vote, the people would soon lose their suffrage; and said he, addressing the saints, I headed a mob to drive you out of Clay County, and would not prevent your being mobbed now; when Richard (called Dick) Welding, the mob bully, just drunk enough for the occasion, began a discussion with Brother Samuel Brown by saying; The Mormons were not allowed to vote in Clay County, no more than the d— negroes, and attempted to strike Brown, who gradually retreated, parrying the blow with his umbrella, while Welding continued to press upon him, calling him a ——— liar, etc., and attempting to repeat the blow on Brown.

"Perry Durphy attempted to suppress the difficulty by holding Dick's arm, when five or six of the mobbers seized Durphy and commenced beating him with clubs, boards, etc., and crying "Kill him, kill him, — — him, kill him." When a general scuffle commenced with fists and clubs, the mobbers being about ten to one of the saints. Abraham Nelson was knocked down and had his clothes torn off and while trying to get up was attacked again, when his brother Hiram Nelson, ran in amongst them and knocked the mobbers down with the butt of his whip. Riley Stewart struck Dick Welding on the head which brought him to the ground. The mob cried out, "Dick Welding's dead, by —; who killed Dick?" And they fell upon Riley, knocked him down, kicked him, and hallowed, "Kill him, — — him, kill him; shoot him, by —;" and would have killed him, had not John L. Butler sprung in amongst them and knocked them down. During about five minutes it was one continued knock down, when the mob dispersed to get firearms. Very few of the brethren voted. Riley, escaping across the river, had his wounds dressed and returned home. Butler called the brethren together and made a speech saying, "We are American Citizens; our fathers fought for their liberty, and we will maintain the same principles, etc." When the authorities of the county came to them and requested them to

withdraw, stating that it was a premeditated thing to prevent the "Mormons" voting.

"The brethren held a council about one fourth of a mile out of town where they saw mobbing recruits coming in, in small parties from five and to twenty-five in number, armed with clubs, pistols, dirks, knives, and some guns, cursing and swearing. The brethren not having arms, thought it wisdom to return to their farms, collect their families and hide them in a thicket of hazel bush, which they did, and stood sentry around them through the night, while the women and children lay on the ground in the rain.

"Tuesday morning, 7th. A report came to Far West, by way of those not belonging to the church, that at the election at Gallatin yesterday two or three of our brethren were killed by the Missourians, and left upon the ground, and not suffered to be interred; that the brethren were prevented from voting, and a majority of the inhabitants of Daviess County were determined to drive the saints from the county.

"On hearing this report I started for Gallatin to assist the brethren, accompanied by President Rigdon, Brother Hyrum Smith and fifteen or twenty others, who were armed for their own protection, and the command was given to George W. Robinson.

"On our way we were joined by the brethren from different parts of the country some of whom were attacked by the mob, but we found some of the brethren who had been mobbed at Gallatin, with others, waiting for our counsel. Here we received the cheering intelligence that none of the brethren were killed, although several were badly wounded.

"From the best information about one hundred and fifty Missourians warred against from six to twelve of our brethren, who fought like lions. Several Missourians had their skulls cracked. Blessed be the memory of those few brethren who contended so strenuously for their constitutional rights and religious freedom, against such an overwhelming force of desperadoes.

"Wednesday, 8th. After spending the night in counsel at Colonel Wight's I rode out with some of the brethren to view the situation of affairs in the region, and, among others called on Adam Black, Justice of the Peace and Judge elect of Daviess County, who had some time previous sold his farm to Brother Vinson Knight, and received part pay according to agreement, and afterwards united himself with a band of mobbers to drive the saints from and prevent their settling in Daviess County. On interrogation he confessed what he had done, and in consequence of this violation of his oath as magistrate we asked him to give us some satisfaction so that we might know whether he was our friend or enemy, whether

he would administer the law in justice; and politely requested him to sign an agreement of peace. But being jealous, he would not sign it, but said he would write one himself to our satisfaction, and sign it, which he did, as follows:

'I, Adam Black, a Justice of the Peace of Daviess County, do hereby Sertify to the people coled Mormin, that he is bound to support the constitution of this State, and of the United State, and he is not attached to any mob, nor will not attach himself to any such people, and so long as they will not molest me, I will not molest them. This the 8th day of August, 1838.

Adam Black, J. P.'

"Hoping he would abide his own decision and support the law, we left him in peace, and returned to Colonel Wight's at Adam-ondi-Ahman.

"In the evening some of the citizens from Millport called on us, and we agreed to meet some of the principal men of the county in council at Adam-ondi-Ahman the next day at twelve o'clock.

"The Committee assembled at Adam-ondi-Ahman at twelve according to previous appointment; viz: on the part of citizens, Joseph Morin, Senator Elect; John Williams, representative elect; James B. Turner, clerk of the Circuit Court, and others; on the part of the saints, Lyman Wight, Vinson Knight, John Smith, Reynolds Cahoon, and others. At this meeting both parties entered into a covenant of peace, to preserve each other's rights, and stand in their defense; that if men should do wrong, neither party should uphold them or endeavor to screen them from justice, but deliver up all offenders to be dealt with according to law and justice. The assembly dispersed on these friendly terms, myself and friends returning to Far West, where we arrived about midnight and found all quiet.

"The spirit of mobocracy continued to stalk abroad, notwithstanding all our treaties of peace, as will be seen by the following affidavit:

'State of Missouri, Ray County.

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned, Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit, William P. Peniston, and makes oath that he has good reason to believe and that he verily does believe, that there is now collected and embodied in the County of Daviess, a large body of armed men, whose movements and conduct are of a highly insurrectionary and unlawful character; that they consist of about five hundred men, and that they, or part of them, to the number of one hundred and twenty, have committed violence against Adam Black, by surrounding his house and taking him in a violent manner and subjecting him to great indignities, by forcing him under threats

of immediate death to sign a paper writing of a very disgraceful character, and by threatening to do the same to all the old settlers and citizens of Daviess County; and that they have, as a collected and armed body, threatened to put to instant death this affiant on sight; and that he verily believes they will accomplish that act without they are prevented; and also they have threatened the same to William Bowman and others; and this affiant states that he verily believes all the above facts to be true, and that the body of men now assembled do intend to commit great violence to many of the citizens of Daviess County, and that they have already done so to Adam Black; and this affiant verily believes, from information of others that Joseph Smith, Jr., and Lyman Wight are the leaders of this body of armed men, and the names of others there combined are not certainly known to the affiant and he further stated the fact to be that it is his opinion, and he verily believes that it is the object of this body of armed men to take vengeance for some injuries, or imaginary injuries done to some of their friends, and to intimidate and drive from the county all the old citizens, and possess themselves of their lands, or to force such as do not leave to come into their measures and submit to their dictation.

William P. Peniston.

Sworn to and subscribed, the 10 day of August 1838.

Austin A. King.

"The above was also sworn to by William Bowman, Wilson McKinney, and John Netherton, so it is that when Men's hearts become so hard and corrupt as to glory in devising, robbing, plundering, mobbing, and murdering innocent men, women, and children by wholesale, they will more readily swear to lies than speak the truth.

"At the time some of the brethren had removed with their families from the vicinity of Gallatin, to Diahman and Far West, for safety.

"*Saturday, 11th.* The morning I left Far West with my council and Elder Almon W. Babbitt, to visit the brethren on the forks of Grand River, who had come from Canada with Elder Babbitt, and settled at that place contrary to counsel.

"In the afternoon, after my departure, a committee from Ray County arrived at Far West to inquire into the proceedings of our society in going armed into Daviess County, complaint having been entered in Ray County by Adam Black, William P. Peniston, and others. The committee from Ray requested an interview with a committee of Caldwell, and a general meeting was called at the City Hall at six in the evening, when it was stated that they were assembled to take into consideration the doings of the citizens of

Ray County, wherein they have accused the 'Mormons' of this place of breaking the peace, in defending their rights and those of their brethren in the county of Daviess, and the meeting organized by appointing Bishop E. Partridge Chairman and George W. Robinson, Clerk.

'Resolved, 1st. That a Committee of seven be appointed to confer with the Committee from Ray.

Resolved, 2nd. That this Committee with their secretary be authorized to answer such questions as may be offered by the committee from Ray, and as are named in the document presented this meeting, purporting to be the preamble and resolutions of the citizen of Ray.

Resolved, 3rd. That whereas the document referred to has no date or signature, our Committee judge of the fact, and act accordingly.

Resolved, 4th. That our Committee report their proceedings to this meeting as soon as possible.

Edward Partridge, Chairman,
George W. Robinson, Clerk.'

"*Sunday, 12th.* I continued with the brethren at the forks of Grand River, offering such counsel as their situation required.

"*Monday, 13th.* I returned with my council to Far West. We were chased by some evil designing men, ten or twelve miles, but we eluded their grasp, when within about eight miles of home we met some brethren who had come to inform us that a writ had been issued by Judge King for my arrest and that of Lyman Wight, for attempting to defend our rights against the mob.

"*Thursday, 16th.* I spent principally at home. The Sheriff of Daviess, accompanied by Judge Morin, called and notified me that he had a writ for to take me to Daviess County on trial for visiting that county on the seventh instant.

"It had been currently reported that I would not be apprehended by legal process, and that I would not submit to the laws of the land; but I told the Sheriff that I calculated always to submit to the laws of our country, but I wished to be tried in my own county, as the citizens of Daviess County were highly exasperated at me, and that the laws of the country gave me this privilege. Upon hearing this the sheriff declined, serving the writ and said he would go to Richmond and see Judge King on the subject. I told him I would remain at home until his return.

"The sheriff returned from Richmond and found me at home (where I had remained during his absence) and informed me very gravely that I was out of his jurisdiction, and that he could not act in Caldwell, and retired." (*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, pp. 222, 229-231.)

Shortly after the above occurred, Adam Black, Justice of the Peace above referred to, executed and filed with the State authorities the following affidavit:

"State of Missouri, }
County of Daviess } ss.

Before William Dryden, one of the Justices of the Peace in said county, personally came Adam Black, who being duly sworn according to law, deposeth and saith; That on or about the 8th day of August, 1838, in the County of Daviess, there came an armed force of men, said to be one hundred and fifty-four, to the best of my information, and surrounded his house and family and threatened him with instant death if he did not sign a certain instrument of writing, binding himself, as a Justice of the Peace for said County of Daviess, not to molest the people called Mormons; and threatened the lives of myself and other individuals, and did say they intended to make every citizen sign such obligation, and further said they intended to have satisfaction for abuse they had received on Monday previous, and they could not submit to the laws; and further saith; that from the best information and his own personal knowledge, that Andrew Ripley, George A. Smith, Ephriam Owens, Harvey Humstead, Hiram Nelson, A. Brown, John L. Butler, Cornelius Lott, John Wood, H. Redfield, Riley Stewart, James Whitaker, Andrew Thor, Amos Tubbs, Dr. Gourze and Abram Nelson, was guilty of aiding and abetting in committing and perpetrating the above offense.

Adam Black.

Sworn to and subscribed this the 28th day of August, 1838.

W. Dryden, Justice of the Peace of the
County aforesaid."

On Sunday, September 2, 1838, Joseph Smith, Jr., sent for General David R. Atchison of Liberty, Missouri, who was in command of a division of the Missouri State Militia with the rank of Major General, and who was also one of the ablest lawyers in the state, in the hopes that his presence and advice at Far West would result in a cessation of the preparation for hostilities then going on in Daviess county. At the same time a letter was dispatched by Smith to Circuit Judge Austin A. King praying the latter to assist in putting down what "the prophet" termed "the mob" then collecting in Daviess county. General Atchison arrived in Far West

the next night and was employed, along with his partner Alexander W. Doniphan, as legal counsel by the Mormons.

The first Presidency of the Church at that time consisted of Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon and Hyrum Smith, and it is worthy of note that President Joseph Smith, Jr., and Sidney Rigdon commenced the study of law on Sept. 4, 1838, and that on the same date Joseph Smith, Jr., and Lyman Wight volunteered to surrender themselves for a preliminary hearing before Judge Austin A. King in Daviess county. Accordingly it was arranged that the preliminary hearing was to be conducted by Judge King at the farm residence of a Mr. Littlefield's in the Southern part of Daviess county, near the present site of Winston. On Wednesday, September 5, Joseph Smith executed the following affidavit:

"STATE OF MISSOURI, }
CALDWELL COUNTY, } SS.

"Before me, Elias Higbee, one of the Justices of the County Court, within and for the County of Caldwell aforesaid, personally came Joseph Smith, Jr., who, saith: That on the seventh day of August, 1838, being informed that an affray had taken place in Daviess County at the election in the town of Gallatin, in which two persons were killed and one person was badly wounded, and had fled to the woods to save his life; all of which were said to be persons belonging to the society of the Church of Latter Day Saints; and further, said informant stated that those persons who committed the outrage would not suffer the bodies of those who had been killed to be taken off the ground and buried.

"These reports, with others, one of which was that the saints had not the privilege of voting at the polls as other citizens; another was that those opposed to the saints were determined to drive them from Daviess County, and also that they were arming and strengthening their forces and preparing for battle; and that the saints were preparing and working ready to stand in self defense: these reports having excited the feelings of the citizens of Far West and vicinity, I was invited by Dr. Avard and some others to go out to Daviess County to the scene of these outrages; they having previously determined to go out and learn the facts concerning said reports.

"Accordingly some of the citizens, myself among the numbee went out, two, three and four in companies, as they got ready. The

reports and excitement continued until several of those small companies through the day were induced to follow the first, who were all eager to learn the facts concerning this matter. We arrived in the evening at the house of Lyman Wight about three miles from Gallatin, the scene of the reported outrages. Here we learned the truth concerning the said affray, which had been considerably exaggerated, yet there had been a serious outrage committed.

"We there learned that the mob was collected at Millport, to a considerable number; that Adam Black was at their head; and were to attack the saints the next day, at the place we then were, called Adam-on-di-Ahman. This report we were still inclined to believe might be true, as this Adam Black, who was said to be their leader, had been, but a few months before engaged in endeavoring to drive those of the society, who had settled in that vicinity, from the county. This had become notorious from the fact that said Black had personally ordered several of said society to leave the county.

"The next morning we dispatched a committee to said Black's to ascertain the truth of these reports, and to know what his intentions were, and as we understood he was a peace officer, we wished to know what we might expect from him. They reported that Mr. Black instead of giving them any assurance of peace insulted them and gave them no satisfaction. Being desirous of knowing the feelings of Mr. Black for myself, and being in want of good water, and understanding that there was none nearer than Mr. Black's spring, myself with several others mounted our horses and rode off to Mr. Black's fence.

"Dr. Avard, with one or two others who had rode ahead, went into Mr. Black's house; myself and some others went to the spring for water. I was shortly after sent for by Mr. Black and invited into the house, being introduced to Mr. Black by Dr. Avard. Mr. Black wished me to be seated. We then commenced a conversation on the subject of the late difficulties and present excitement. I found Mr. Black quite hostile in his feelings toward the Saints, but he assured us he did not belong to the mob, neither would he take any part with them; but said he was bound by his oath to support the constitution of the United States and the laws of the State of Missouri. Deponent then asked him if he would make said statement in writing so as to refute the arguments of those who had affirmed that he (Black) was one of the leaders of the mob. Mr. Black answered in the affirmative. Accordingly he did so, which writing is in possession of the deponent.

"The deponent further saith that no violence was offered to any individual in his presence or within his knowledge; and that no insulting language was given by either party, except on the part of

Mrs. Black, who, while Mr. Black was engaged in making out the above named writing (which he made with his own hand), gave to the deponent and others of this society highly insulting language and false accusations, which were calculated in their nature to greatly irritate, if possible, the feelings of the bystanders belonging to said society, in language like this: Being asked by the deponent if she knew anything in the "Mormon" people derogatory to the character of gentlemen, she answered in the negative, but said she did not know but that the object of their visit was to steal something from them. After Mr. Black had executed the writing deponent asked Mr. Black if he had any unfriendly feelings towards the deponent, and if he had not treated him genteelly. He answered in the affirmative. Deponent then took leave of said Black and repaired to the house of Lyman Wight. The next day we returned to Far West, and further this deponent saith not.

Joseph Smith, Jr.

Sworn to and subscribed this fifth day of September A. D. 1838.

Elias Higbee, J. C. C. C."

Judge King opened court for the preliminary hearing of Smith and Wight at the Littlefield home on September 6, but no testimony was taken and the causes were continued over till 10 o'clock the next morning. The hearings to be had at a Mr. Raglins some six or eight miles further south and within a half mile of the Caldwell county line. The court convened at Mr. Raglin's the next morning. William P. Peniston was the prosecutor, Adam Black was the sole witness for the State. The defense introduced the testimony of Dimick B. Huntington, Gideon Carter, Adam Lightner, and George W. Robinson. The result of the matter was that Joseph Smith, Jr., and Lyman Wight were bound over to court in a five hundred dollar bond.

A committee of inquiry from Chariton county arrived in Far West on September 8th and after listening to the statements made by General Atchison and the Presidency returned to their homes.

About this time it became known in Far West that a wagon-load of firearms was being transported from Richmond, Missouri, to Daviess county, and the Mormon Civil authorities in Far West concluded to intercept them, a writ was placed in the hands of William Allred, who with ten mounted men

surrounded the wagon and after placing John B. Comer, William L. McHaney and Allen Miller under arrest, brought the prisoners, with their wagon load of guns, into Far West. These men were held as prisoners till Sept. 12th on which date they were given a preliminary hearing in Far West and bound over for their appearance at Circuit Court,—John B. Comer to answer to a charge of "attempting to smuggle arms to a mob;" the other men being held as his accomplices—at least that is the statement made in the *History of the Church*.

The arrest of these three men created great excitement. The Saints petitioned the Governor of Missouri at once for protection, while the Missourians petitioned the Governor to drive all Mormons from the state.

On September 11, General Atchison in his military capacity ordered the militia to march immediately to the scene of excitement and insurrection. This order being given by Major General Atchison to his law partner Brigadier General Doniphan. The latter acted with alacrity as evidenced by the following report:

"Headquarters 1st Brigade, 3rd Division, Missouri,
Military Camp at Grand River.

September 15, 1838.

Major General David R. Atchison,
Commanding 3rd Division Missouri Militia.

Sir:

"In pursuance to your order dated 11th inst. I issued orders to Colonel William A. Dunn, Commanding the 28th Regiment, to raise four companies of mounted riflemen, consisting of fifty men each, also to Colonel Boulware commanding 70th regiment, to raise two companies of mounted riflemen, consisting each of like numbers, to start forthwith for service in the counties of Caldwell and Daviess.

"On the same day Colonel Dunn obtained the four companies of volunteers required from the 28th regiment, and on the morning of the 12th I took command in person and marched to the line of Caldwell, at which point I ordered the Colonels to march the regiments to the timber on Crooked River. I then started for Far West, the county seat of Caldwell, accompanied by my aid alone.

"On arriving at that place I found Comer, Miller and McHaney, the prisoners mentioned in your order. I demanded of the

guard who had them in confinement to deliver them over to me, which he promptly done. I also found that the guns that had been captured by the Sheriff and citizens of Caldwell had been distributed and placed in the hands of the soldiery and scattered over the country; I ordered them to be immediately collected and delivered up to me.

"I then sent an express to Colonel Dunn to march the regiment by daylight for that place, where he arrived about seven a. m., making forty miles since ten o'clock a. m. on the previous day.

"When my command arrived, the guns were delivered up, amounting to forty-two stand; three stand could not be produced, as they had probably gone to Daviess County. I sent these guns under a guard to your command in Ray County, together with the prisoner Comer; the other two being citizens of Daviess, I retained and brought with me to this county, and released them on parole of honor, as I conceived their detention illegal. At eight o'clock a. m. we took up the line of march and proceeded through Millport in Daviess County, thirty-seven miles from our former encampment, and arrived at the camp of the citizens of Daviess and other adjoining Counties, which amounted to between two and three hundred, as their commander, Dr. Austin of Carroll informed me. Your order requiring them to disperse, which had been forwarded in advance of my command, by your aid, James M. Hughes, was read to them, and they were required to disperse. They professed that their object for arming and collecting was solely for defense, but they were marching and counter marching guards out; and myself and others who approached the camp were taken to task and required to wait the approach of the sergeant of the guard. I had an interview with Dr. Austin, and his professions were all pacific. But they still continue in arms, marching and countermarching.

"I then proceeded with your aid, J. M. Hughes, and my aid Benjamin Holliday, to the Mormon encampment commanded by Colonel Wight. We held a conference with him, and he professed entire willingness to disband and surrender up to me every one of the Mormons accused of crime, and required in return that the hostile forces, collected by the other citizens of the county, should also disband. At the camp commanded by Dr. Austin I demanded the prisoner demanded in your order, who had been released on the evening after my arrival in their vicinity.

"I took up line of march and encamped in the direct road between the hostile encampments, where I have remained since, within about two and a half miles of Wight's Encampment, and sometimes, the other camp is nearer, and sometimes farther from me. I intend to occupy this position until your arrival, and deem it best to

and preserve peace and prevent an engagement between the parties if kept so for a few days they will doubtless disband without coercion. I have the honor to be,

Yours with respect,
A. W. Doniphan,
Brig. General 1st. Brigade,
3rd Division Missouri Militia."

(*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, pp. 268-9.)

Subsequently Major General Atchison arrived and his report to Governor Boggs, the Commander-in-Chief, will show his views of the situation:

"Headquarters 3rd Division, Missouri Militia,
Grand River, Sept. 17, 1838.

To His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief:

Sir:

"I arrived at the County seat of this county, Daviess, on the evening of the 15th instant, with the troops raised from the militia of Ray County under the command of General Doniphan. In the same neighborhood I found from two to three hundred men in arms, principally from the counties of Livingston, Carroll, and Saline. These men were embodied under the protest of defending the citizens of Daviess County against the Mormons; and were operating under the orders of a Dr. Austin from Carroll County. The citizens of Daviess, or a large portion of them, residing on each side of Grand River, had left their farms and removed their families either to the adjoining counties or collected them together at a place called the Camp Ground. The whole county on the east side of Grand River appears to be deserted, with the exception of a few who are not so timid as their neighbors. The Mormons of Daviess County have also left their farms, and have encamped for safety at a place immediately on the east bank of Grand River, called Adam-ondi-Ahman. The numbers are supposed to be about two hundred and fifty men, citizens of Daviess County, and from fifty to one hundred men, citizens of Caldwell County. Both parties have been scouting through the country and occasionally taking prisoners and threatening and insulting each other; but as yet no blood has been shed. I have ordered all armed men from adjoining counties to repair to their homes; the Livingston County men and others to the amount of one hundred men have returned, and there remain now about one hundred and fifty who will, I am in hopes, return in a few days. I have been informed by the Mormons, that all of those who have been charged with a violation of the laws will be in today for trial; when that is done the troops under

my command will be no longer required in this county, if the citizens of other counties will return to their respective homes. I have proposed to leave two companies of fifty men each in this county and discharge the remainder of the troops; said two companies will remain for the preservation of order, until peace and confidence are restored. I also inclose to your Excellency the report of General Doniphan and I refer you for particulars to Major Rogers.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,
D. R. Atchison,
Major-General 3rd Division
Missouri Militia."

(*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, pp. 282-283.)

On the 18th, Governor Boggs, undoubtedly considering the force under Atchison too small, or considering the General too pacific in his measures, ordered the fourth division, under General S. D. Lucas, to the scene of trouble, there to co-operate with the forces under General Atchison. General Atchison again reported to the Governor as follows:

"Sir: The troops ordered out for the purpose of putting down the insurrection supposed to exist in the counties of Daviess and Caldwell were discharged on the 20th instant, with the exception of two companies of the Ray Militia, now stationed in the County of Daviess, under the command of Brigadier General Parks. It was deemed necessary in the state of excitement in that county that three companies should remain there for a short period longer, say some twenty days, until confidence and tranquility should be restored.

"All the offenders against the law in that county, against whom process was taken out, were arrested and brought before a court of inquiry, and recognized to appear at the Circuit Court. Mr. Thomas C. Berch attended to the prosecuting on the part of the State. The citizens of other counties who came in armed to the assistance of the citizens of Daviess County have dispersed and retired to their respective homes, and the Mormons have also returned to their homes; so that I consider the insurrection, for the present at least, at an end. From the best information I can get there are about two hundred and fifty Mormon families in Daviess County, nearly one-half of the population, and the whole of the Mormon forces in Daviess, Caldwell and the adjoining counties is estimated at from thirteen to fifteen hundred men, capable of bearing arms. The Mormons of Daviess County, as I stated in a former report, were encamped in a town called Adam-on-di-Ahman, and are headed by Lyman Wight, a bold, brave, skillful, and, I may add, a

desperate man: they appear to be acting on the defensive, and I must further add, gave up the offenders with a good deal of promptness. The arms taken by the Mormons, and prisoners, were also given up upon demand, with seeming cheerfulness."

(*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, p. 294.)

On September 25, General Parks, who was left in command, wrote the Governor as follows:

"Whatever may have been the disposition of the people called Mormons, before our arrival here, since we have made our appearance they have shown no disposition to resist the laws, or of hostile intentions. There has been so much prejudice and exaggeration concerned in this matter, that I found things entirely different from what I was prepared to expect. When we arrived here we found a large body of men from the counties adjoining armed and in the field for the purpose, as I learned, of assisting the people of this county against the Mormons, without being called out by the proper authorities.

"P. S. Since writing the above, I received information that if the committee do not agree, the determination of the Daviess County men is to drive the Mormons with powder and lead."

(*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, p. 295.)

He wrote General Atchison on the same date, thus:

"I am happy to be able to state to you that the deep excitement existing between the parties has in a great degree ceased; and so far I have had no occasion to resort to force in assisting the constables. On tomorrow a committee from Daviess County meets a committee of the Mormons at Adam-ondi-Ahman, to propose to them to buy or sell, and I expect to be there."

(*Millenial Star*, Vol. 16, p. 275.)

THE CAPITALS AND CAPITOLS OF MISSOURI.

JONAS VILES.

FIRST ARTICLE.

The approaching celebration of the centennial of Missouri's organization as a state and of her admission to the Union should naturally awake new interest in her history, while the completion of the new capitol at Jefferson City gives, among the minor topics in the State's development, a timely interest to the earlier capitals and capitols. This account of the location of the seat of government and of the buildings set apart for the organs of government will have, I believe, something more than a mere antiquarian interest and will throw some little light on the general development of the State.¹

I. THE FRENCH AND SPANISH PERIODS TO 1804.

Until the autumn of 1765 there was no separate organization for the French settlements in the present State of Missouri, and therefore, no capital or capitol. Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis, the two French villages west of the Mississippi, where simply outposts of the more extensive settlements across the river and were under the rule of the French commandant at Fort Chartres. Great Britain, it is true, had in 1763 received from France all the French claims east of the Mississippi (except New Orleans), but it was October two years later before the British expedition succeeded in reaching this remote center of settlement and raised the British flag at Fort Chartres. The French commandant, Captain St. Ange de Bellerive, then transferred his soldiers to St. Louis and there set up his government.

"Capital" in the United States is a term that may be defined as the place, almost invariably a town or city, where are located the organs of government of the nation, a state, or a territory—of a definite district with a distinct governmental organization. The "Capitol" is the building which is the center of governmental activity; if the various departments are not under one roof, the term is usually applied to the meeting place of the legislative body.

France, however, in 1762 had ceded New Orleans and her claims west of the Mississippi to Spain. Spain was even more dilatory than Great Britain in taking possession of her new domain. St. Ange continued in authority until 1770, when Don Pedro Piernas, the first of the Spanish Lieutenant Governors, reached St. Louis and took possession. Piernas continued the seat of government at St. Louis, which remained the capital of the Illinois country of upper Louisiana, as the Missouri settlements were called, throughout the Spanish Period.

St. Ange's choice of St. Louis, then, seems to have determined the location of the capital until the United States took control in 1804 or even until the state government was organized in 1820. In 1765 it may well have been an open question with St. Ange whether to set up his government in Ste. Genevieve or St. Louis. The former was much the older settlement and as yet the larger; it was also the headquarters for the lead miners on the Meramec and St. Francois. St. Genevieve, however, was located in the bottom lands while St. Louis was free from any encroachment by the river. The latter was a new settlement of only a year previous and was inhabited by traders. It perhaps offered more governmental problems, particularly as to land titles. The local tradition that the people of St. Louis invited St. Ange to come to them and then chose him as their ruler does not seem to be supported by any evidence.² But, as the future showed, St. Louis had a strategic position unrivalled in the middle west and in all probability St. Ange had some realization of its advantages.

Neither the French nor the Spanish erected a government building or capitol in St. Louis such as the famous "Cabildo" in New Orleans. As the government was a paternal despotism, with no participation on the part of the peo-

²It is true that the cession of trans-Mississippi Louisiana to Spain might have thrown some doubt on St. Ange's legal title to authority and so the general acceptance of his rule by the people is of some importance. But his position was legally no more anomalous than that of the French commandant at Fort Chartres across the river from 1763 to 1765.

ple, and as the supreme authority in all departments was vested in the lieutenant governor, his residence or headquarters may properly be described as the "capitol," as it was the center of all governmental activities. For some years under Spanish rule (until 1783) the lieutenant governor occupied the house built by Laclede in 1764, the governor and his family living in the upper part and the garrison being quartered in the basement. This house, the first built in St. Louis, was located in the block now bounded by First and Second and Walnut and Martin streets. In 1783 the lieutenant governor, Cruzat, moved diagonally across the street to the present southeast corner of Main and Walnut streets, to a stone house erected by Jean B. Martiny in 1768. This remained the government house or capital during the remainder of the Spanish period, and here on March 9, 1804, took place the formal transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States.³

II. THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD, 1804-1820.

The establishment of an American government did not bring at once any considerable change. Captain Amos Stoddard, under the first or temporary act organizing the government of the Louisiana Purchase, succeeded to the powers of the Spanish lieutenant governor. He continued the seat of government at St. Louis and even used the old government house.⁴ For a few months in 1804 and 1805, there was properly speaking no capital, for under the act of 1804 Missouri was attached to the Territory of Indiana, with its capital Vincennes. A separate territory of Louisiana was organized in 1805; in 1812 the name was changed to Missouri.

Without any positive legislation, designating the capital, General Wilkinson, the first territorial governor, took

³A full description of these houses with sketch of their later history may be found in a note by Francis A. Dillon in *J. T. Scharf, History of St. Louis*, I. 139-140. There are pictures of the Laclede house in *F. A. Billon, Annals of St. Louis in its early Days*, 243, and in *L. Houck, History of Missouri* II, 14, of the second government house in *Houck, Missouri*, II, 361. Neither house is standing today.

⁴Billon, in *Scharf; St. Louis*, I. 140, note.

up his residence in St. Louis in 1805. In 1807 the Governor and Judges enacted that it should be the meeting place for the highest court of the territory;⁶ and in 1812 Congress provided that the first legislature should meet at St. Louis. Positive legislation establishing the capital there seems to have been felt unnecessary; this location was taken for granted. The center of American settlement in 1804 was farther south, in the present counties of Cape Girardeau and Perry, but there was no town or village there until Jackson was founded in 1814⁶. St. Louis was growing steadily in population and wealth and was clearly the most important town. It was now passing through the transition from the old fashioned, comfortable and rather sleepy French village to the bustling western town. The change was not complete by 1820; French was still heard almost as commonly as English on the streets,⁷ the Gazette printed many of its advertisements in French, and the substantial merchants were still largely of the old French families.

Captain Amos Stoddard, as has been pointed out, succeeded to the residence as well as to the powers of the Spanish Lieutenant Governor and ruled the district from the old government house until his authority expired September 30, 1804. Then the house passed to private uses. There seems to have been no other building during the territorial period which can properly be described as the capitol; no building where any integral part of the government was located with any permanence. Thruout the period the Executive power was vested in the Governor and the chief judicial power in a court of three judges, all appointed by the President, but the records do not disclose any public or private building regularly used by either department. Until 1812 the legislative power was vested in the governor and judges; in 1812 a territorial legislature was created, the lower house elective, the upper appointed by the President; in 1816 both

⁶But in the same year it was enacted that the May meeting should be at Ste. Genevieve.

⁶Houck, *Missouri*, III. 168.

⁷Darby, *Recollections*, 5.

houses were elective. But the various sessions of the territorial legislature were held in private houses or more commonly in taverns, and the Constitutional Convention of 1820 met in a "hotel."⁸ It seems safe to say, then, that there was no capitol during the Territorial period.

III. THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AND THE CAPITAL, 1820.

When in 1820 the Congress of the United States finally adopted The Missouri Compromise and passed the act enabling the people of Missouri to elect a constitutional convention, the people for the first time had a free hand in choosing the location of their capital. And a radical shifting of the centers of settlement in the five years previous was making St. Louis a less logical and satisfactory location. All thru the Provincial Period and the early years of the American regime the settlements had been for the most part along the Mississippi south of the Missouri, a relatively narrow strip with outlying settlements in the lead country about Potosi and Fredericktown; and in and around St. Charles, with a few adventurous pioneers farther up the Mississippi and the Missouri.⁹ By 1820, however, fully a thirty per cent of the total population was to be found in the district on the Missouri in the central part of the territory known as the Booneslick country, and nearly one-half on the Missouri outside of St. Charles and St. Louis and on the Mississippi above the St. Charles settlements. The extension of settlement was very clearly to be along the great rivers, and especially along the Missouri. These newer sections could hardly look with favor at a location of the capital on the extreme eastern border at St. Louis.

- This matter of the location of the permanent seat of government was evidently in the minds of the Booneslick people when the time came to elect delegates to the consti-

⁸For places of meeting of territorial courts and legislatures, see *Billon, Annals of St. Louis, 1804-1821, passim.*

⁹*Viles, Population and Extent of Settlement before 1804; in Mo. Hist. Rev. V. No. 4., 189; Houck, Missouri, Vol. III.*

tutional convention. The Missouri Intelligencer, published at Franklin, contains many letters and references as to the desirability of a central location for the capital of the new state, so many that it was clearly one of the questions attracting general interest. There seems to have been a very definite apprehension that St. Louis would try to retain the capital and that in alliance with the older sections in the southeast, she might succeed. This apprehension was the reason for the support of the proposal to take advantage of the option in the enabling act permitting the Convention to order a new election on a revised apportionment of delegates based on the census of 1820.¹⁰ Such a revision would add materially to the delegations from the newer districts and increase the support for a central location for the capital. When the Convention met, however, the Booneslick delegates found it impossible to carry out this plan because the census returns were not yet available; they decided also that it was unnecessary because they found no evidence that St. Louis would seek to secure the permanent seat of government or that there was any real objection to central location.¹¹

The action of the Convention showed that they had accurately gauged the opinion of the delegates. The first draft of the section of the Constitution locating the capital, presented to the Convention on July 10, 1820, selected a point on the Missouri river within forty miles of the mouth of the Osage river; it provided also for a Commission to locate the actual site.¹² With the exception of a minor detail this was in agreement in content with Article X of the Constitution as adopted. The only important amendment proposed at this meeting was presented by Mr. Evans of Cape Girardeau that the capital should be St. Louis until 1870, provided there shall be built there without expense to the state a state house worth at least thirty thousand dollars and a state prison. If St. Louis did not fulfill these conditions, then the capital was to be on the Missouri within thirty miles of the mouth of the Osage. This

¹⁰Missouri Intelligencer, April 22, May 13, 20, 1820.

¹¹Idem, June 17, 24, 1820.

¹²Journal of Convention, 1820-22.

amendment was beaten eight votes to twenty-eight; one of the eight was from St. Louis, another from Washington and the other six from St. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid. The original proposal was then agreed to, twenty-eight to nine, two of the nine coming from Washington, one each from St. Louis and St. Charles, and five from St. Genevieve and Cape Girardeau. On July 15, the section of the constitution providing for the permanent seat of government as reported by the committee on revision was adopted without any attempt at amendment.¹³ The opposition then to the central location was weak and to be found chiefly in the older sections in the southeast.

The Convention thus did not locate the capital in any existing town but planned for the laying out of a new town. Clearly this would require some little time and the Constitution provided that the capital should not be removed to the central location until 1826. The original proposal of July 10 named St. Louis as the temporary capital during the interim; Mr. Boone of St. Charles moved to strike out St. Louis and substitute St. Charles, but this was rejected without a roll call and St. Louis accepted. In the later stage on July 17, however, a brisk fight for the location of the temporary capital developed. A proposal to strike out St. Louis and insert Potosi was lost by a tie vote, a similar motion for St. Charles was beaten fifteen to twenty-three, but the Convention then decided, twenty to eighteen, to strike out St. Louis, and without a roll call, to leave the location of the temporary capital to the first assembly.¹⁴

An analysis of the votes shows clearly that the most determined opposition to St. Louis as the temporary capital came from the Southeast, these delegates voting more than two to one in favor of Potosi. Even for the proposal of St. Charles the Washington and Cape Girardeau delegations were unanimously in favor and the counties south of the Missouri, with the exception of St. Louis, furnished 11 of the 15 votes.

¹³*Journal of the Convention*, 32, 45.

¹⁴*Ibid*, 32, 45-46.

On the other hand, the Booneslick delegates were nearly unanimous in support of St. Louis. The contest is of interest as foreshadowing the bitter struggle on the location of the temporary capital in the first assembly, as showing the latent hostility of the southeast to St. Louis which flared up more than once in the politics of early days, and the agreement of St. Louis with the coming section. This alliance proved fairly staple; for example, it was chiefly responsible for the election of Benton to the Senate in the first assembly.¹⁵

IV. TEMPORARY CAPITAL 1821-1826.

The location of the temporary capital, handed over by the Convention to the first assembly, proved as difficult and consumed as much time as any question which came before that body. The members of the Assembly betrayed no timidity or unfamiliarity with legislative methods; in this first session there were numerous deadlocks between the two houses, committees of conference, an executive veto promptly overridden and all the procedure and activities of an old and experienced legislature. Unfortunately the material available to me for the proceedings in the House is limited to the fragmentary reports in the *Missouri Intelligencer*; for the Senate a copy of the *Journal* tells the whole story.

No sooner was the House organized than the question of the location of the temporary capital was brought up and on October 5 the House passed a bill selecting Potosi in Washington county.¹⁶ Potosi was the most important village in the lead district and, as we have seen, the choice of the delegates from the southeast in the Convention. The Senate, however, did not approve of this choice. After a week of deliberation a combination of the St. Louis and Missouri river senators struck out Potosi from the bill and substituted Cotes sans Dessein, in Montgomery (now Callaway) county,¹⁷ on the Missouri nearly opposite the mouth of the Osage. The "Cotes" was

¹⁵Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*, 273-274.

¹⁶*Sep. 20, 1820 Mo. Intell. Oct. 14, Nov. 4, 1820.*

¹⁷*Senate Journal, 1st General Assembly, 48.*

the only settlement remotely resembling a village within the limits established by the constitution for the location of the permanent seat of government.

Whatever was the combination in the House which secured a majority for Potosi in original bill, it went to pieces when the Senate amendment came up for action on October 12. The House disapproved decidedly of Cotes sans Dessein and struck it from the amended bill by a vote of more than two to one. But attempts to fill the blank with St. Louis, St. Charles, Franklin, Florissant, or Boonville were all voted down. At a later meeting St. Genevieve and Herculaneum shared the same fate. Finally on October 24 the House by a majority of one substituted Franklin for the Senate amendment of Cotes sans Dessein.¹⁸ Franklin, in Howard county across the river from Boonville, was a thriving town and the commercial center of the Booneslick district.

The Senate however liked Franklin no better than Potosi, refused to accede to it, and requested a committee of conference. After a week of vain endeavor to reach some agreement this committee reported its failure and the deadlock was complete. As a last resort the Senate then secured a "simple conference" between the two houses. Just how this was managed is not clear but in effect it meant that the Senate regarded the question as just introduced and started fresh. Accordingly votes were taken on St. Louis, St. Charles, Potosi and Newport, the county seat of Washington county. There was a majority against Potosi and Newport, but the vote of the other two was a tie. The President of the Senate (Lieutenant Governor Ashley) defeated by his casting vote St. Charles, but voted for St. Louis. On a reconsideration, however, St. Louis also was beaten. The Senate then voted to adhere to Cotes sans Dessein and the 'simple conference' failed.¹⁹

Within a week the House passed a new bill, selecting this time St. Charles as the temporary seat of government, the Senate agreed and the bill became a law.²⁰ Material is not

¹⁸*Mo. Intell.* Nov. 4, 11, 1820.

¹⁹*Senate Journal, 1st General Assembly*, 88, 98, 117, 119, 122-24.

²⁰*Ibid.* 136-137.

available to explain this second change of choice on the part of the House. Naturally the Booneslick section was not all satisfied with the defeat of Franklin. The *Intelligencer* declares that St. Charles was finally selected by a majority of one and that but for the death of one Booneslick member and the returning home of others, Franklin would have been selected.²¹ But Franklin was not the only town beaten by a single vote.

Apart from local rivalry and the expected profit from possession of the temporary seat of government, convenience would seem to point to the avoidance of more than one removal; that is, the temporary capital should remain at St. Louis or be removed to the future permanent seat of government. The latter, it is true, had not been selected as yet, but as will be shown there was a strong desire if not even a general expectation that *Cotes sans Dessein* should become the capital. Probably this explains in part the insistence of the Senate. An analysis of the votes in the Senate is not very illuminating as to combinations of different interests. Several Senators seem honestly anxious to support any choice that can secure a majority.

St. Charles, as far as one can see, had no especial claim to the location of the temporary seat of government, or at least no apparent advantage over St. Louis. It was in 1819 a town of about one hundred houses, many of them substantial brick buildings built in the last two or three years, with two brick kilns, a tanyard, and several stores. Originally a village of hunters and Indian traders it was now the center of a thriving agricultural population.²² The town offered certain tangible inducements to the Assembly in a pledge to provide free quarters for the Assembly,²³ but its selection must be regarded as a compromise. Apparently this pledge to provide to the state free of charge a place of meeting for the Assembly was loyally kept for the various meetings of the first and second assemblies, for there is no record of appropriations for rentals. The third assembly however, appointed committees to report on

²¹*Mo. Intell.*, Dec. 9, 1820.

²²*S. H. Long's Expedition I. 64 (Early Western travels XIV, 126).*

a place of meeting and agreed to accept the proposal of Charles Peck for the use of the rooms "at present occupied" by the assembly;³⁴ they later appropriated \$2.50 a day to Ruloff Peck for the use of his house in the present session. It would seem then that the assembly occupied the same building thruout the five years at St. Charles, a building which might be called the temporary capitol.³⁵

V. THE LOCATION OF THE PERMANENT SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

While the Assembly was spending what must seem today a disproportionate amount of time and energy on the selection of the temporary capital, it was legislating with little difficulty on the much more important question of the location of the Permanent Seat of Government. Although the Convention had embodied in the Constitution a general description of this location—"within forty miles of the mouth of the Osage river on the Missouri"—and provided in a general way for the selection of the actual location by a board of commissioners legislation was necessary to set this machinery in motion. At this first session of the first assembly, in the middle of October, the House passed a bill for the location of the Permanent Seat of Government;³⁶ after five days of discussions the Senate passed it with six amendments; and after mutual concessions and a committee of conference, the amended bill passed both houses.³⁷ As far as can be determined from the scanty records the contest turned on details, and especially on the personnel of the board of commissioners. Evidently the position of commissioner was regarded as a desirable one.

The act, approved by the governor November 16, 1820, designated as commissioners John Thornton of Howard, Robert Gory Watson of New Madrid, John B. White of Pike,

³⁴*Senate Journal, 1st Assembly 137.*

³⁵*Ibid. 3rd Assembly, 18, 20, 26.*

³⁶Pictures of the "temporary capitol" may be found in the *Official Manual State of Missouri, 1913-14, 16*, and, obviously after the building had been remodeled, in the *The State of Missouri, W. Williams, editor, 10*. I have not verified the identification. The building photographed is still standing.

³⁷October 14, 1820; *Mo. Intell., Nov. 11, 1820.*

³⁸*Senate Journal, 1st. Assembly 63, 67 et seq.*

James Logan of Wayne, and Jesse B. Boone of Montgomery these commissioners were appointed as the Constitution required from the counties at the four corners and the center of the state. They were to take an oath that they were not personally interested in any land to be considered and for the faithful discharge of their duties; they were to receive a remuneration of four dollars a day, not exceeding twenty-five days, and traveling expenses.

The act provided that the commissioners were to meet at Cotes sans Dessein on the first Monday of the following May and then to proceed to the selection of four vacant sections of United States land, as provided in the enabling act. If, however, it proved impossible to find four sections of government land suitable for the capital within the geographical limits defined by the constitution, the commissioners were to receive proposals from private owners of not more than 450 acres, and report fully to the next assembly on the advantages and disadvantages of the various parcels offered.

The commissioners presented a careful and detailed report²⁸ to the special session of the assembly which met at St. Charles in June, 1821. All the vacant public lands left within the Constitutional limits were three fractional townships. Unable to decide whether the Constitution and the law compelled them to designate four sections of public land, to avoid any violation the commissioners formally selected four sections from township 44, range 11, for the assembly to accept or reject. This is the location of the City of Jefferson today. The commissioners, however, were of the opinion that these four sections were not a proper site for the seat of government, because the bluffs here were badly broken and the bottom very limited, and the surrounding country too poor to support any considerable population or extensive settlement.

Several proposals from private owners had been received, but only two of them in the opinion of the commissioners deserved attention. One, in township 46, range 13, was in the extreme northwestern corner of Cole county, just east of the

²⁸*Mo. Intell*, June 25, 1821.

mouth of the Moniteau, apparently the site of Marion, the first county seat of Cole county. The advantages of this location were the best view of the river within the constitutional limits and the healthfulness of the location; the disadvantages were the steepness of the bluff, making it inaccessible except at one end, the scanty water supply, and once more the broken character of the surrounding country which made it unsuitable for any dense settlement. Finally, a bar in the river made the ferriage unsafe.

The commissioners then described with very evident favor the second set of proposals, those from Cotes sans Dessein and gave the advantages at considerable length. The site was a beautiful one and probably safe from encroachment from the river, while the Cotes (hill) itself was excellent building material; there was water in plenty for a little digging and an excellent place for a landing; the bottom lands were extensive and capable of supporting a large population; the site was as near the center of the state as any and opposite the mouth of the Osage, a highway to the south. The disadvantages, not very vigorously urged, were, an island opposite which would necessitate the location of the ferry above or below the actual site; the fact the bottom behind the Cotes was subject to overflow from several small streams; and possible danger from the encroachment of the river. The commissioners were quite confident that it would be easy to provide an adequate outlet for the small streams and that there was no real danger from the Missouri.

The most serious obstacle to an immediate selection of Cotes sans Dessein was a multiplicity of claimants under a Spanish grant and New Madrid claims. The commissioners were forced to admit that at present the land titles were in an unsatisfactory condition but felt confident that if the final selection could be postponed until the autumn session that these claims could be consolidated and simplified; they had been unable to bring this about as yet because of lack of time. The commissioners gave it as their opinion that Cotes sans Dessein was the most desirable location for the permanent seat of government.

The characteristics, as revealed in this report, demanded by the commissioners for the site of Missouri's capital are of considerable interest. They clearly recognized the value of a commanding position and a beautiful outlook; they were also properly interested in the salubrity of the location, which meant practically that the surrounding country must be free from overflow. More than this, the commissioners desired a location suitable for the development of a considerable town, which in those days meant a considerable area suitable for relatively dense agricultural settlement. The emphasis on a safe ferrying place and an abundant natural water supply of course simply reflect the more primitive conditions of the time.

Cotes sans Dessein,²⁹ which appealed so strongly to the commissioners, was a peculiar, long narrow hill or ridge separated from the bluffs by extensive bottoms. Here early in the territorial period had settled a little group of French families and here in 1821 was the only settlement on the river within the constitutional limits which by any stretch of the term could be called a village. There had been, it would seem, a considerable expectation from the first that this would be the capital, and the Senate, as has been pointed out made a determined effort to locate here the temporary capital. In spite of all this, Cotes sans Dessein with its limited area and extensive bottoms subject to overflow and encroachment from the river does not appeal very strongly to the present day observer. The early settlers in their eagerness for the fertile bottoms and advantage of river transportation often made serious mistakes in locating their settlements owing to their ignorance of the vagaries of the great rivers. Old Franklin in Howard county is merely the most striking example of a considerable number of lost towns.

The assembly to which the commissioners made this careful report evidently were convinced by it and gave the commissioners the extension of time they desired. The supplementary act approved June 28, 1821, appointed Daniel Morgan Boone to fill the vacancy on the commission caused by the

²⁹S. H. Long's *Expedition*, I, 74 (*Early Western Travels*, XIV, 137, 138).

death of Jesse B. Boone, and extended the time for the location of the capital until the next session of the assembly. The commissioners were authorized to consider sites on United States lands offered for sale but not sold, and were bound by rather elaborate requirements, including a special oath to keep secret all deliberations and proposals until their report to the next assembly. On the same date a joint resolution of the two houses requested the governor to inform the United States Land Office of the Commissioners' formal selection of the Jefferson City site, thus protecting the interests of the state.

The commissioners reported to the next assembly that Angus L. Langham had succeeded in consolidating the land titles at Cotes sans Dessein and offered to donate to the state 392 acres toward the permanent seat of government. The commissioners accordingly selected 892 acres at the Cotes. On November 10 the committee of the House of the Permanent seat of government recommended that the report of the commissioners be approved and Cotes sans Dessein be selected.³⁰ Our information at this point becomes exasperatingly meagre. On November 20, Mr. Waters spoke at length in the committee of the whole house against the report, although his objections are not given and was replied to by Duff Green and others.³¹

Apparently the question was then or even earlier referred to the Committee on Judiciary, for on December 10, Green wrote to the editor of the *Intelligencer* that the location of the permanent seat of government was yet to be acted on; and that the Committee on the Judiciary had for a long time been acting on the question of land titles. He wrote also that the Committee would soon report and "we shall know whether the question is to be settled or for years to be a matter of electioneering in every little village presuming to be a candidate."³² On Christmas Day a "member of the legislature" wrote to the editor that the location of the capital had taken up much time and that the committee on the Judiciary had reported on the land titles at Cotes sans Dessein and on the claims, "multi-

³⁰*Mo. Intell.*, Nov. 27, 1821.

³¹*Ibid.*, Dec. 18.

³²*Ibid.*, Dec. 26.

farious indeed."³³ Six days later the governor approved the bill selecting the Jefferson City site.

The result then of these long drawn out and obscure discussions was the selection of the site which the commissioners had considered simply to protect themselves under the constitution and the law, a site in which they could see little good, which they expressly declared in their opinion unsuitable. Why the assembly overruled the commissioners and rejected their later unequivocal recommendation of Cotes sans Dessein is not altogether clear from the evidence accessible. The desire to take advantage of the donation of the Federal government and secure the four sections of public land, even indeed if the capital were not located on them, and more especially the confusion as to land titles at Cotes sans Dessein appear clearly in the proceedings. In all probability there is substantial truth in the local tradition that disputes as to land titles lost the capital to Callaway county.

VI. THE CAPITAL SINCE 1821.

The final decision of the assembly in favor of the Jefferson City site, by the Act of December 31, 1821, did not close the discussion. This Assembly provided for the laying out of a town, the sale of lots and the erection of the first capitol, yet in the election of 1824 a candidate for the assembly from Howard county felt it worth his while to announce in the *Intelligencer* that he believed that the permanent seat of government was constitutionally located and so centrally situated that he would oppose any attempt to remove it.³⁴ In the assembly elected at this time there was a determined effort, led by the speaker, to strike out the appropriation for the completion of the "Governor's House" (the first capitol). The motion was defeated in the House by the close vote of 26 to 22. The Speaker insisted that he had no idea of changing the location of the capital, but in the face of rumor that the people of St. Louis proposed to offer a large bonus if the

³³*Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1822.

³⁴*Mo. Intell.*, May 8, 1824.

capital be moved, some of the members were a little skeptical. Mr. Miller of Howard said so frankly.³⁵ A report in 1831 of a select committee of the Senate on the claims of the Trustees of Jefferson City throws a flood of light on the temper of this assembly of 1824-25.³⁶ Under the act of 1822 the Trustees were bonded to perform certain duties, their compensation to be fixed by the next assembly, and, the committee reported, "owing to some unfortunate prejudice which existed in that Legislature against the Seat of Government and anything in any manner connected with it, or an improper estimate of the services rendered," that assembly gave them \$100 in depreciated currency.

This "unfortunate prejudice" did not disappear after the government was moved to Jefferson City in 1826. The city lots which it had been expected would provide the funds for the first capitol and the permanent improvements of the city, sold with difficulty at low prices and largely for credit.³⁷ Until as late as 1832 the legislature passed even the most necessary laws for the development of the town reluctantly and with great difficulty, and the town suffered accordingly.³⁸ Finally in 1832 Governor Miller in his message³⁹ lost patience and discussed the situation without mincing matters. Urging that the condition of the capital city was a subject of much interest to the people of the whole state, he said: "If it is not to be the permanent seat of government that fact cannot too soon be made known; while on the other hand if it is to remain as such, it is advisable to appropriate money for grading and improving the streets." The Governor suggested that the erection of a penitentiary there would contribute to settle the minds of the people as to the location of the capital.

The assembly followed his counsel and in 1833 provided for the erection of the Penitentiary at Jefferson City. From the first, lots had been reserved for the Penitentiary and the State

³⁵*Mo. Intell.*, Jan. 25, 1825.

³⁶*Senate Journal*, 6 Ass., 75.

³⁷*Mo. Intell.*, May 29, 1829.

³⁸*Senate Journal*, 4th Ass., *passim*; *House Journal*, 6 Ass., *passim*.

³⁹*Senate Journal*, 7th Ass., 18.

University, so that in the popular mind these institutions were identified with the capital. Therefore the investment of the public funds in a Penitentiary at Jefferson City seems to have settled the question of the removal of the capital. Governor Dunklin in his message⁴⁰ of 1834, again urging appropriations for street improvements, stated that "since the establishment of the Penitentiary here public opinion seems to have settled down to this as the permanent seat of government." Two years later, discussing the need of a new capitol building, Governor Boggs stated that for some years past it was viewed as doubtful whether the capital be allowed to remain but now the question seemed to be put at rest.⁴¹ This agitation for a change in the location of the capital bore fruit in at least two attempts to bring about the removal by constitutional amendment. In the House of the 6th Assembly 1831, a proposed amendment to remove the capital to Boonville was rejected without a roll call. In the Senate of the next Assembly a similar amendment was introduced; but a motion to substitute Columbia for Boonville was voted down six to twelve, and the original proposal defeated, seven to eleven.⁴² Perhaps the realization that the pending appropriation for a penitentiary if passed would have the effect Governor Miller anticipated explains the greater interest shown in this second proposal.

What were the reasons for this long continued unpopularity of Jefferson City? No doubt the protracted debate over its selection left behind a certain amount of jealous and bitter feelings. And in general an agricultural state is prone to transmute its distrust of politicians and office holders into dislike for the capital, a more or less probable den of iniquity. But in Missouri there were two rather obvious reasons for a special prejudice; the primitive conditions and slow growth of the town and more especially a most unfortunate uncertainty as to land titles.

It must be remembered that Jefferson City was, as it

⁴⁰*Senate Journal*, 8th Ass., 19.

⁴¹*Senate Journal*, 9th Ass., 18.

⁴²*House Journal*, 6th Ass., 240; *Senate Journal*, 7th Ass., 70.

were, a town made to order for the seat of government. The first house there was built in 1819; in 1823 there were two families in residence; in 1824, three; and in 1826, when the government was moved there, thirty-one. A "hotel" and three taverns were opened that year, and in the following year a general store.⁴³ The country in the immediate vicinity did not fill up with an agricultural population so that the town was largely a place of one industry, providing a home for the officials. But the illiberal policy of the legislature and the constant uncertainty as to the removal of the capital were the greatest handicaps.

Maxmillian, Prince of Wied, on his journey up the Missouri in 1833, viewed Jefferson City from the river and described it as at present only a village, with a couple of short streets. The "gentle eminence" on which the town was to be built were traversed by fences, and stumps and felled trees were everywhere seen. On his return the following year he stopped and was less complimentary on a closer view. He declared the place still in its infancy, with the habitations scattered, the ground not levelled and covered with heaps of stone and high weeds, where cows and pigs roamed at liberty. For provisions he could buy only salt pork, biscuits and whiskey.⁴⁴ Admitting that a European nobleman might well expect too much of a frontier town, it is clear that as yet Jefferson City had not prospered.

With the disappearance of the demand for the removal of the capital and with much fairer treatment from the assembly, after about 1835 the town grew rapidly. The streets were improved, the remaining lots sold more readily and at better prices.⁴⁵ In 1839 the city was incorporated, in the census of 1844 it had a population of 1122, exceeded only by St. Louis, Hannibal and Booneville. But the tradition that Jefferson City was somehow or other an uncomfortable place

⁴³*History of Cole, Monticau, Morgan, Benton, Miller, Maries and Osage Counties*, 280-1.

⁴⁴*Maxmillian's Travels in North America*, 1, 115 (*Early Western Travels*, XXII, 242. *Ibid.* III, 473; XXIV, 122.

⁴⁵*House Journal*, 10th Ass., 614; *Senate Journal*, 19th Ass., 31, 39, 57.

of residence survived, to the great injustice of the town, long after the early primitive conditions disappeared.

But the "unfortunate prejudice" of the Assembly of 1824-25 and of the people in general was probably due chiefly to certain private claims to the land selected by the State, claims founded on the location there of New Madrid certificates. Although the actual claimants were land speculators, their claims were based on damage done to the property of one Baptiste Delisle by the New Madrid earthquake, and the claims were later known as the Delisle claims.⁴⁶

When Governor McNair on January 1, 1822 informed the Surveyor General that Missouri had finally selected the Jefferson City site, he received the reply that a part of the land selected was already, on June second of the previous year, located under a New Madrid certificate. Charles S. Hempstead, Angus L. Langham and Taylor Berry, the last two well known land speculators, were the claimants, and their notice of location of June 2 antedated the resolution of the Assembly of June 28, requesting the United States authorities to withdraw the land from the sale or location. The Assembly made the best of the situation and authorized the commissioners to receive and report to the Assembly any proposals of claimants to the lands selected. It is very probable that the action of the next assembly, in December 1822, was in response to some such proposals; the assembly authorized the purchase of the rights of the claimants for not more than four thousand dollars, or, failing in this, empowered the Commissioners to take by condemnation eight squares of the land. Under this act the claimants in May, 1823 transferred all their rights to the state.

How much the state was compelled to pay is not apparent, but the whole incident did not enhance the popularity of the new capital. It was a curious coincidence that Langham, who had been so active locally in favor of Cotes sans Dessein, now managed to profit materially by the location

⁴⁶The facts as to the Delisle claims in 1822 and 1842 may be found in *House Journal*, 12th Ass., 612 and in *Reports, Missouri Supreme Court*, XII, 14.

at Jefferson City. In connection with a curious recrudescence⁴⁷ of this same claim in 1842, the Committee on Judiciary submitted a report casting considerable doubt on the validity of the Delisle New Madrid certificates, and making this positive statement: "It is, in truth, well known, and can be established as your Committee are well assured, by incontestable evidence, that the commissioners were dogged after by Speculators to spy out the lands being selected by them, in order to cover it by some floating claim before the tardy action of the Legislature could be had, and thus take advantage of the State."⁴⁸

The Assembly, then, in 1821, selected the site at Jefferson City, already declared by the commissioners to be unsuitable, without any enthusiasm, but apparently because being United States land it would be a donation under the enabling act, and free from any question as to land titles. And at once the state was called upon to quiet at considerable expense the claims, probably fraudulent, of certain sharp dealing land speculators. The ill savour of the whole affair permeated the state for years, to the great detriment of Jefferson City.

Since 1833 only one serious effort has been made to change the location of the permanent seat of government. The Convention which drew up the Constitution 1845, a constitution rejected by the people, gave a slight support to the proposal to leave the location to the people thru the legislature, and embodied the location at Jefferson City in their constitution;⁴⁹ the constitutions of 1865 and 1875, contain the same provision. In the early nineties Sedalia launched a movement for the removal of the capital to that thriving town, culminating in the submission, by the assembly in 1895, of a constitutional amendment to that effect. The amendment⁵⁰ demanded from Sedalia a capitol, Supreme Court Building, executive mansion and armory at least equal to the build-

⁴⁷See note, *infra* on the Delisle claims.

⁴⁸*House Journal*, 12th Ass., 614.

⁴⁹*Journal of Convention*, 80, 265-6. App. 14-17, 22.

⁵⁰*Session Acts*, 33th Ass., 286.

⁵¹*Official Manual*, 1897-8, 74.

ings at Jefferson City, absolutely without expense to the state. The amendment was lost by a popular vote of 181,258 to 334,819. The proposal had a majority in eighteen counties only, nearly all in the Osage river valley.⁴¹ The ratification of the bond issue providing for the erection at Jefferson City of the capitol building now under construction certainly settled for a generation at least all question of capital removal.

Note on the Delisle claims:—There is a touch of romance in the revival of these claims in 1842. Baptiste Delisle himself returned to Missouri and very naturally felt that if any compensation was to be made by the state for claims based on injury to his land by the New Madrid earthquake it should be made to him. It seems that he left New Madrid in 1812, joined the army at Pittsburg, saw service on the Canadian frontier, and after the war settled in New York and later drifted back thru Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois to Missouri. He was now an old man and very poor. He had never transferred his title to his (supposedly) injured New Madrid property and never until his return to Missouri knew of the New Madrid certificate issued in his favor, or even of the act of congress providing for such compensation.

The Committee on Judiciary of the House in 1843 reported adversely to his claim with the scathing attack on the speculators of 1821 already quoted. The Committees of Judiciary of the two houses in 1845, however, reported that the destruction of records in the burning of the capitol would make it difficult to prove the fraudulent character of the claims or to defend the State's title; they recommend the acceptance of claimants' offer to sell out to the state for \$4,000.⁴² The assembly however, elected to fight the case and in *Lessieur vs. Price*⁴³, in 1848, secured a decision from the Supreme Court of Missouri establishing the state's title. It is interesting to note that the decision was given on points of law which would have invalidated the claims of Langham in 1821. The site of the present capitol and the center of Jefferson City were included in the area in dispute.

⁴¹*Senate Journal, 13th Ass., Appendix 18-21.*

⁴²*Missouri Reports, XII. 14.*

GOTTFRIED DUDEN'S "REPORT," 1824-1827.

TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM G. BEK.

SIXTH ARTICLE.

THE TWENTY-THIRD LETTER.

August 6, 1826.

"Now I can also tell you something about the plague of mosquitoes. About six weeks ago, I experienced something, which judging from all my former experiences, I should have regarded as simply impossible. Everywhere, in valleys and on highlands, there were such swarms of mosquitoes, that, in shady places, one could scarcely keep them away from one's nose and mouth. This insect is nothing else than the gnat (*cuex pipiens*). They are found over the whole earth, but in such numbers I should have expected them only in swamps and never on highlands. That their appearance was quite unusual, I could believe so much the more readily, since during the other years I had noticed nothing whatever of such a thing. It is attributed to the inundations by the Missouri. This stream had gone out of its banks during the summer of 1824, and had placed the greater part of the valley under water. Such an inundation is said to occur only once in about thirty years, however."

Warning is then given against building dwellings near the Missouri river, because the banks are so unstable, being attacked by the water, the ice and the masses of drifting wood. "I know several instances where beautiful plantations, houses, barns, orchards and hundreds of acres of land were washed away in a short time."..... "He who builds on the hills away from the swamps will have as little cause to complain of the climate here, as he has in Germany. This building on the hills by no means precludes the use of the rich soil of the lowlands. In no town of Germany does one live more

healthfully than in St. Louis, because the surroundings have been cleared of timber for several miles. In St. Charles, too, one rarely hears of sickness."

Then we are told about the breeding places of mosquitoes and about some of their habits. Protection against these little pests is easily obtained by making mosquito bar coverings, but more simply still by building a small fire before the entrance of the houses and letting the smoke drive them away

"Among the many advantages which the Mississippi country affords, there are many unpleasant features, which, as is the case with all new inconveniences, excite the imagination greatly, and which really injure the inexperienced German immigrant more than they do the native. It is not well to allow one's self to be influenced by first impressions. There is no lack of immigrants who were at first as much intoxicated by the charms of their new environment as they later loathed the same. The fault lies in human nature and not in the country. If only the agreeable things are mentioned this region will appear a veritable paradise to every German. On the other hand it is just as easy, by exercising a little imagination, to paint a most terrifying picture of the unpleasant features. Whoever is inclined to this purpose, will find enough material in my letters. I could even furnish still more and speak of the poisonous plants, the mere touching of which in some persons produces painful eruptions. Beside the most beautiful flowering trees there stand the poisonous sumac varieties, especially the *rhys radicans*. But in this as in other matters the danger is exaggerated to ridiculous proportions. The inhabitants here know the dangerous effects of these plants, but no one lives in fear or anxiety on their account."

THE TWENTY-FOURTH LETTER.

August 12, 1826.

In this letter the writer tells us of his experience in a Missouri forest where he got lost. We read how he stilled his hunger by eating of the bark of the slippery elm. The distant barking of dogs finally directed him to a road which

brought him out of his predicament. As a last resort he would have sought to attract some planter by repeatedly firing his gun, which was recognized by all frontiersmen as a sign of distress.

The reader is also informed that the European idea of the impenetrable American forest is a myth. Then a brief description of the forest in the lowlands and on the highlands is given. The great variety of trees in the same forest is shown to differ greatly from that found in the German forests. In conclusion we read: "On a single acre near my home I found four varieties of walnut trees, three of the oak, two of elm, the Virginia cherry tree, plum trees, a mulberry tree, ash trees, the broad-leaved linden tree, the sassafras, sweet gum bushes, the Canadian redbud, the flowering dog wood, the iron wood, the hackberry, the plane tree, grapevine bushes, hazel bushes, blackberry bushes and the elder."

THE TWENTY-FIFTH LETTER.

A rattlesnake was discovered near Duden's house. This reptile was five feet long and belonged to the *crotalus horridus* variety. Its behavior and the behavior of the domestic animals toward it are here described.——With delight Duden again speaks of his garden.——The great flocks of wild turkeys that frequent his barnyard are mentioned, as are also the deer which are so frequently seen in his field. "It is strange how the deer like to mingle with herds of domestic cattle."——"A few weeks ago an American panther here called tiger, was killed about four miles from here. It was a male about five feet long from the tip of its nose to the root of its tail, and weighed ninety pounds. Excepting a few black spots on the ears and about the mouth, its color was throat yellowish, under the belly more whitish. These beats of prey are rare in the neighborhood of the plantations. It is seldom that they attack a human being. Beyond the state of Missouri, in the Missouri territory, there are more of them. There is also the gray bear, which is so extremely dangerous to the furhunters."——Wolves had recently

killed a young colt near Duden's home.—“The bison has retreated farther to the west. On the Kansas river a herd of many thousand was seen a few months ago. Also the wapiti (*cervus wapiti*), the elk, and the moose are not to be found near the settlements.—In St. Louis there lives a General Ashley who makes extensive hunting expeditions annually. He is accustomed to hire from thirty to forty hunters, with whom he goes to the Rocky Mountains and beyond in the spring of the year, and in the latter part of the autumn returns, often with a great amount of furs and hides. He is said to have discovered a place west of the sources of the LaPlatte river, where the Rocky Mountains for several miles are so low, that beasts of burden and wagons can easily cross them and get to the Pacific Ocean. If this is true, the exact location of the place will no doubt soon become common knowledge.”

THE TWENTY-SIXTH LETTER.

September 12, 1826.

“Nature has deposited many things here that are waiting for a larger population. A few miles from my dwelling I found in the bed of a small stream a lump of rich iron ore, weighing more than sixty pounds. It looks like pure metal, but as soon as it is brought close to the fire, it explodes with terrific violence. However, it does not pay to seek for it in this vicinity, since farther to the west, in Washington County, there have been discovered whole mountains of this ore. There smelters have been installed so that iron kettles and other cast iron ware can be bought rather cheaply here. Salt, too, is here in abundance. It is supplied by the licks in Boone County.* In the bluffs of the Missouri I found bitter salt. With ease I was able to collect a few pounds of entirely pure pieces. There is also no lack of saltpeter. About twelve and then again forty miles above the mouth of the Missouri is found an abundance of the best kind of coal. Also opposite

*Duden here refers to the salt springs in the Boone's Lick Country located in what is now Howard County.—Editor's Note.

the mouth of the Missouri there are large beds of coal. The city of St. Louis derives its coal supply from there. Formerly the St. Louisans burnt only wood, as will be done in the interior of the state of Missouri for a long time to come. Copper is not found in this neighborhood, but on the upper Mississippi near the St. Anthony Falls are found rich deposits. About three hundred and fifty miles above the mouth of the Missouri at the mouth of Fever river rich lead mines have been discovered on the Mississippi. Many people are going there."

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH LETTER.

September 28, 1826.

The remains of pre-historic man in America are here discussed. Duden has seen only a few Indian mounds east of St. Louis, so the major portion of the account deals with a reiteration of facts found in other works.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH LETTER.

October 1, 1826.

Here is an account of nine pages which deals with the conditions of health and the common ailments to which the Americans are subject. Their causes and their remedies are indicated.

"The most common ailments in the United States are; billious fever, intermittent fever, influenza, and tuberculosis; among children, croup and whooping-cough.

"In the western part of the United States there are many adults who have had neither the small-pox nor the cow-pox. Vaccination for small-pox is not very common here. There prevails no real prejudice against vaccination, but a law compelling vaccination could hardly be enforced, unless the danger were indeed imminent."

We are told that the chief seat of yellow fever is along the Gulf of Mexico. It is also occasionally found on the Atlantic coast and even along the Ohio, but is unknown along the Missouri. Influenza and tuberculosis are more rarely

found in the western than in the eastern states, on the other hand the west is subject to more bilious and intermittent fevers. In truly old fashioned manner the cause of fevers is said to be bad air, which on account of the decaying vegetation is worst in the summer months. The observation is made with something of surprise, that working on new land or drinking of water from a creek, the temperature of which has been increased by the summer heat, almost always produces either boils, or intermittent fever, or even bilious fever. The use of sulphuric acid is recommended as the best means of fighting the evils that lurk in drinking water.

"Last spring an ailment called Influenza made its appearance in the Mississippi country. It came to the lower Missouri from Georgia, and gradually wandered to the remotest settlements on the Missouri. At first it was thought to be simply a catarrhal difficulty, however, its regular spreading out and the contagious nature of the ailment soon attracted attention, especially when the warmer weather left no doubt as to its peculiarities. About the twentieth of March it was in St. Louis, a week later in St. Charles, and about the middle of April in Columbia and in Franklin on the Missouri. Painful swelling on different parts of the body, especially on the thighs, were the common symptoms, especially during the warmer season, but prior to this the respiratory organs alone seemed to be affected. Headaches were rarely lacking and but few persons escaped the discomfort entirely. Old persons were attacked most violently, The pain which seemed to wander from one part of the body to the other soon settled in the chest, and in some instances caused a loss of the voice, which lasted until complete recovery. Purgation produced by sulphate of magnesia and cream of tartar, plasters and poultices applied to relieve the discomfort of the chest, repeated lancing of the surface of the painful swellings, thereby causing slight bleeding, and the use of sulphur, sulphuric acid and naphtha relieved the patients very quickly and restored the health in six or eight days. Only in the case of old persons it required more time. In my neighborhood

some thirty persons were attacked by the malady and all of them have been restored to health without difficulty by the above named means under my direction.

"During the first years of residence some of the immigrants from central Europe suffered from a cutaneous eruption which is very similar to the itch. It attacks the lower extremities. Internal disturbances are not connected with it, neither is there an offensive odor noticeable, and sulphur is wholly ineffective. In case of otherwise healthy persons, the eruption is confined to the feet. It causes one to scratch the parts till they bleed. The itching comes on about sundown. After an emission of lymph and blood the discomfort ceases. The malady appears only in hot weather and vanishes with the approach of cold weather."

Duden is not clear as to the probable cause of this ailment. He seems to think that the bite of ticks and chiggers may have something to do with it. He warns the people against settling near swamps or in forests, against working on newly cleared ground during the hot season, against over-exertion in hot weather, and against the consumption of too much meat. He sounds a special warning to the poorer immigrants in regard to the eating of meat, something they are very likely to do, when they find how cheap this article of food is in America.

"Most of the ailments of the natives arise from their own neglect. The climate has very little to do with it. A mode of living, such as is usual here in America, would very soon destroy half of the population of Germany. Children and grownups eat and drink, in summer and winter, what they like, whether they be sick or well. To fast during an illness is regarded a great folly. No one thinks of taking precautions against catching cold. In any season the children run, half naked, from their bed or from the blazing fireplace into the open. Some of the dwellings admit the wind from all sides, and yet no effort is made to keep out the cold northwest wind, a thing that could be so easily done with a little clay. They would rather drag a cart load of wood to the hearth

daily. Around the hearth the entire family then spends the time the whole day thru.

"It is, of course, to be expected that the medical profession in Missouri, a 'new country,' (an expression with which the natives seek to excuse all the imperfections of domestic and public institutions, and sometimes justly so), is far behind, especially when it is known, how the American laws look upon the art of healing. The trade in medicine is wholly unrestrained in the whole United States, and in most places the right to practice medicine is not dependent upon examinations or license. Provision has, of course, been made for Universities, and in the west, Lexington in Kentucky is largely attended. Here and at the Universities on the Atlantic coast many doctors are graduated, but the title of 'doctor' is not a necessary condition to admit to practice. The people judge the ability of the physician, as they judge the ability of any artisan, whose trade depends wholly upon the support of the crowd, and any one may assume the title of 'doctor' who desires to make the art of healing his business, without giving cause for an examination. I believe that the free sale of medicines causes more harm than the unrestrained practice of the art of healing.

"Just as there is no lack of real physicians at the public institutions of learning, so, too, in places where the population is not too small, a man soon arises against whom the quacks can not hold their ground.

"In regard to the medicines the situation is bad. Countless differences as to the value of the medicines are really known only to the men of science; the mass of the people will never give their undivided confidence to some honest, well informed salesman to such an extent that the attraction of cheapness, especially when supported by unscrupulous recommendations, will not mislead occasionally. Without state control nothing can be done, and a good control leads to monopoly. Perhaps the United States will come to this later on. For the time being there is nothing left for the physicians to do but to sell the medicines themselves, a practice followed by almost

all of them. Only in the large cities are there exceptions to this rule. There one finds reasonably good apothecary shops. Only in the large cities also does one find surgeons. In other places the physician is at the same time surgeon and apothecary, and, especially in the country town, he usually acquires a good deal of wealth.

"An exorbitant trade in secret remedies and elixers is the simple consequence of this condition. Almost in every newspaper one finds recommendations of such arcana. Far more offensive, however, is the ridiculous self praise of real physicians. So a certain Doctor Anderton of New York, 'for instance, recommends his 'superior method of curing a certain disease,' and, while promising the greatest secrecy, he designates his place of business as one 'where that integrity and candor may be found, which thousands can testify, has always been the ruling principle of his practice.' A Doctor Horne speaks of his 'profound attention' and says further about himself, speaking in the third person, 'his experience is very great, his success astonishing.' The above is taken from the *New Hampshire Journal*. Such advertisements usually have a motto such as: 'Neither quackery or imposition,' or 'To prevent the abuse of mercury,' or 'Salus populi suprema lex,' etc. Besides the advertisement is seen the likeness of Hippocrates, of Galen, of Aesculapius and others,—Among the arcana many panaceas are found as may well be imagined. Swaim's Panacea, with a hydra and a fighting Hercules, is advertised in almost every newspaper, accompanied by certificates of recommendation by the various professors of the medical faculties in Philadelphia and New York. A few doctors call themselves Indian doctors and claim to have received their knowledge from the Indians."

THE TWENTY-NINTH LETTER.

Written in October 1826.

We read of the backwoodsman's simple methods of making roads and building bridges; that all males between the ages of eighteen and forty-two, the male slaves not ex-

cepted, must follow the call of the road overseer; that scarcely one third of the work is done that should be accomplished; that even professional men, doctors and lawyers, attend these semi-social gatherings, not to work themselves, but to talk to this or that one of the men who are there; that it is not advisable to stay away from the gatherings for fear that it might be interpreted as pride, which would be unpardonable in that pioneer community.

The *modus operandi* of becoming an American citizen is discussed, as are also the rights and obligations of the citizen as well as the immigrant. The sources of our laws are said to be: (1) The Common Law of England; (2) The Acts of the English Parliament, antedating the separation of the American Colonies; (3) The Acts of Congress; (4) The Special Laws of the individual states. Attention is called to the fact that Louisiana has sanctioned the use of the Napoleonic Code, in a modified form. The various courts of law are enumerated. The lack of formality on the part of the judges is mentioned with interest. The unostentatiousness of the American office holder, from the President of the nation to the Justice of the Peace is dwelt upon. The simplicity of the American system of policing is contrasted with the pompous methods of Europe. A remnant of the European craze for titles is seen in the often unauthorized use of such titles as "Captain" and "Colonel." As proof that the Americans are not so devoid of intellectual attainment as some Europeans would make believe, Duden enumerates the various things that the American farmer is able to do and do well. We read on this point: "Every American farmer knows: (1) How to judge and evaluate the different soils, even by the trees and plants that grow on them; (2) He knows the various varieties of wood in regard to their use as building material, for furniture, for agricultural implements, for fences, and for fuel; (3) He can erect his own buildings, quarry rock, burn lime, and can dispense with the aid of the carpenter entirely and needs the joiner and stonemason only for the purpose of doing the finer work on his dwelling house;

(4) He knows how to transform the forest into tillable land, knows how to raise garden vegetables, grain, tobacco, hemp, flax, cotton and many other things; (5) He knows the rudiments of animal husbandry, and veterinary surgery, can shear his own sheep, and do the work of the butcher; (6) He can make his own shoes, can make potash, soap and maple sugar; (7) He is a good hunter, and can tan hides of animals, especially those of the deer, as well as the best tanner can. From the Indians he has learned to make use of the brains of the deer in tanning, which makes the leather smooth and soft without weakening it in its composition. —The housewife can sew and knit, spin and weave, dye and make clothes."

This same farmer comes in touch with the most intellectual men of the nation, especially when his vote is solicited before the election. The officeseeker visits with him personally, or he hears him discuss the issues of the day at horse races, the mustering of the militia or other such gatherings. The different views of the various candidates is put before the people so that even the most stupid can not help getting something. It is surprising what a change comes to a people in one single generation—from the position of a German peasant or tradesman to an American citizen. Duden mentions particularly the deliberations he heard when Adams and Jackson ran for the Presidency. The common verdict was that Jackson made a better general than president.—In spite of the fact that the American takes so lively an interest in politics, it must not be overlooked that he really regards it only a side issue, which he puts aside, only too gladly, to look after his main interests."

Letter twenty-nine is in two parts. The continuation bears this title: "Concerning the political parties. The higher education in North America." Three parties are enumerated—the Federalists or Aristocrats, the Democrats, and the Royalists. Of the latter party he says: "Excepting perhaps a few recently immigrated British subjects there are no Royalists here any more. The eager adherents to the

crown of England have long ago recognized, that every further effort for the restoration of royal authority is wholly futile." In general terms he defines the principles of the Federal party to be an adherence to and a preservation of things existing, that which has been tried during a period of time, while the Democratic party stands for change and innovation. In this vein he continues at great length.

In the matter of higher education America has copied liberally from England. English literature is also their literature. Theater's are found in the seaboard towns as well as in the west. In the west they are, of course, poorly equipped, as is also the case in the smaller towns of Germany. In the matter of architecture, painting and sculpture it can not reasonably be expected that we should find here what it required centuries to accomplish in Europe. The architecture was primarily designed for utility, and in this line it has attracted the admiration of the world. The desire for music is also not wanting. Training in this branch is very superficial, however. The cultured Americans look to Europe as the Europeans look to the orient for inspiration. It will not be the fault of the American if the intellectual bond between the two countries is severed. In regard to the higher institutions of learning the same complaint is applicable to America that applies to Europe, namely, that the forces are too much split up, that instead of having twenty average universities there ought to be two or three fully and perfectly equipped institution of this kind.

THE THIRTIETH LETTER.

Written in the month of February, 1827.

A lengthy letter, covering almost twenty-nine pages. A great part of it deals with observations of the weather in Missouri and general remarks about weather conditions and climate. Then follows a part dealing with swarms of flies on the prairies, settlements of immigrants on prairie land, settlements on unsold public lands, and finally with the pro-

cess of surveying public lands. This letter is designed to answer many questions of the prospective immigrant. Here it does not warrant detailed translation. In part we read: "I have now spent two summers, three autumns, three winters and two springs on the lower Missouri, and I must confess, that I could not wish for a better climate. Above all I praise the clear sky. Even in January and February there are more clear, mild days than cold, wet ones. The rejuvenation of nature, which gives the early spring in Germany such marvelous charm, is, to be sure, less noticeable here. Vegetation is not checked as much as in Germany, and the grasses and some bushes begin very early to send forth shoots. On the other hand there are also fewer continuous cold rains here, which mark the spring in Germany even more than the awakening of nature. The German autumn can by no means be compared in splendor with the American autumn. The hot weather in Missouri lasts no longer than about two months, from the middle of June to the middle of August. During the past summer the temperature did not rise above 90, Fahrenheit, a degree of heat which is also not uncommon in the Rhine country, and there, because of the longer days and the lack of shade, is much more disturbing than on the Missouri."

THE THIRTY-FIRST LETTER.

In the month of March, 1827.

"I am preparing for my return journey. My farm I have rented for a period of three years. The rental is computed upon the natural products that are produced on the tillable land. Ten bushels of maize constitutes the rent per acre. At present a bushel of maize is worth only from twenty to twenty-five cents, but I am chiefly concerned about up-keep of the place, and the care of the fine building material growing on it, the final disposition of which is a matter to be considered. Why I have bought real estate at all, is well known to you from my former letters. It was the best and cheapest way of getting the information for the purpose of

which the journey was made. That this expenditure does not bind me to America I need hardly tell you.

"I confess, that I leave this region with regrets. The only thing that I have really missed here has been the association with friends of the Fatherland. The Germans and the North Americans differ in no way from one another in those things which are called nature and temperament. Neither can the customs of the domestic life of the natives repel the German immigrant. They are in a large measure adapted to the external circumstances, and one easily becomes adjusted to them. Even the differences in language soon disappear. The thing, however, that will always be lacking is the bond of common memories. The longer the immigrant has lived in his home country so much the less will be the charm which the social life will afford him here, and all this in spite of the effort on his part to adjust himself to the mode of living and the circumstances of the Americans. The immigrant coming from Great Britain has less to complain of in this respect. He is more closely related to a great body of Americans, and finds himself surrounded by fellow immigrants of every station from his home country. What classes Germany has sent to America, and how the descendants of these people get along here, you already know from my former utterances. Of the first generation of German immigrants only few get beyond the Alleghany Mountains, and still fewer to the Mississippi. The latter privilege is reserved for their grandchildren, after their parents have perished in misery. Most of the early immigrants have remained in the Atlantic states. Who was to direct them here, and where should they get the means to make the long journey? As it was, only a small number could defray the expense of the ocean journey. Many inhabitants of the eastern states look with envy upon the prosperity of the Mississippi region, and seek above all to restrain the Europeans from coming here, since their influx into the east has hitherto so enormously increased value of their real estate.

"How often have I thought of the poor of Germany.

What prosperity and affluence could a few diligent hands prepare here for whole families, whose condition in the Fatherland is wholly inconceivable to the planters who were born in America. Along the Missouri there is still room for millions of beautiful plantations, not to speak of the other rivers at all. The great fertility of the soil, its enormous expanse, the mild climate, the splendid waterways, the absolute freedom of intercourse in a territory of many thousand square miles, the absolute safety of person and property, the very low rate of taxation, these are the things which must be regarded as the real foundation of the fortunate position of the Americans. In what other country on earth are all these combined? If it were desired to embellish the picture still further, it would only be necessary to remind the reader of the rich forests, the superabundance of coal, salt, iron, lead, copper, saltpeter and other minerals; of the inclination of almost all the inhabitants to utilize the natural advantages; of the river navigation which even now begins to flourish; and finally of the absence of all European prejudices in regard to rank, to trade, and to physical work.

"Only those who have carried on agriculture in Europe, and especially in Germany, will be able to appreciate the above characterization. They will know how much is gained if the domestic animals require no special attention or care; if the breeding of horses and the fattening of cattle and swine do not depend upon the cultivation of extensive tracts of land; if, as a rule, it is sufficient to procure a few pairs of animals for breeding purposes and then leave the rest to nature. They will also understand the value of soil, which year after year produces the richest harvest, without fertilization and with but little work. The land in Germany which is not under cultivation is almost worthless. Here, on the other hand, the farms are far separated from one another by tracts of rich land which will not find buyers for some time to come, and which are covered with dense forests of oak and nut trees and fine grass, on which every farmer, without exception or distinction, may turn large herds of domestic animals."

Anticipating the possible query on the part of Europeans, as to how it happened, that a land blessed with so many advantages should have been left unsettled for so long a time, Duden enumerates the reasons which lie back of this condition of things. In the first place the French did not discover the land till the latter part of the 17th century; the inhabitants of the United States had in the beginning too much to do on the Atlantic coast to think of the land beyond the Alleghany Mountains; later they could not do so because the French would not let them; the Peace of Paris in 1763 finally gave England the land east of the Mississippi; settlements came slowly until Daniel Boone had blazed the way; the Americans east of the Alleghanies, impelled by a desire for speculation, sold their property in the east at a high price to European immigrants to establish cheaper and better homes west of the mountains; the territory east of the Mississippi, however, was so large that it sufficed for all who came. By the Peace of Paris the land west of the Mississippi was ceded to Spain who regarded this territory as a protecting wall against their silver mines in Mexico and so did not encourage immigration. In 1803 the United States got the land, but did not open it to settlers until a few years later. In the meantime steamboating had been perfected and with this discovery there began a new era for all of North America.

"Many a time I have said to myself and to my traveling companion, Louis Eversmann, the son of the chief mine-inspector Eversmann of Berlin, whom I leave behind in happy circumstances,—it is impossible for Europeans to understand how comfortably and with what little exertion one can live in America. It all sounds too strange, too fabulous to them. The belief in the existence of such places has long ere this entered the world of myth. The inhabitants of the Mississippi, on the other hand, regard the reports of the distress in Europe as exaggerated. The citizens of Missouri, as well as their slaves, can not understand that there should be so many white people in Europe, who with the greatest exertion can hardly acquire enough to procure as much meat

for the whole year, as is given to the dogs in a few weeks here, or that without benevolent gifts of other persons many a family would starve to death, or in winter freeze to death. They think that such utterances are simply made to praise America in a flattering manner. Occasionally, however, the expression is heard: 'Yes, yes, my grandfather has often related that things go very poorly there.'

"Nevertheless I must earnestly warn against coming here without due preparation and as single individuals. Success depends entirely upon the manner of executing the plan of immigration. Without special preparation and efficient guidance every immigrant exposes himself to chance success more than is even anticipated. The settler who passes the first years successfully is safe. However, this is a serious condition. In the beginning the adjustment to a new climate, the lack of domestic peace and comfort, attacks of homesickness, these general causes, not to speak of the unavoidable little irritations and vexations, are enough to produce even in the soundest body disturbances, which, tho they may not endanger life, nevertheless always reduce to a considerable extent the wealth on hand, and weaken the courage which is necessary to utilize adequately what is left. Most of the unsuccessful attempts at colonization in foreign lands have been wrecked on just such causes. They in themselves have nothing to do with the country. To the descendants of immigrants born in America they are unknown. I am convinced, that if several families, say ten or twenty, who are on friendly terms with one another, should spend a year here in the peaceful situation, such as the American is able to provide for himself so quickly in the midst of an unpeopled forest, they would never yearn again to return to Europe, to visit, yes, but never to stay there. Therefore I repeat, the success of emigration depends entirely upon the mode of its execution. And when everything has been attained, everything that the American is capable of attaining, the family that immigrates alone will feel the separation from old friends so much the more keenly, the less there is lacking externally

for its satisfaction. In Germany most of the people are so steeped in their domestic cares, that friendly intercourse with other families appears as a most subordinate matter. Here, where in the presence of abundance the cares disappear in great measure, the mind is freer, and nature will again turn to those things, by means of which its innate nobility can manifest itself in the highest degree.

"The customary talk in Europe about the wilderness and the deprivation of the products of culture is ill-founded. Here one can have with far less expenditure everything that is required for rural residence in Europe. The inexpensive up-keep of horses, the absence of every sort of road-toll, and the security against thieves and robbers lighten social intercourse so much, that only a lazy fool could ask for more. Neither is there a lack of schools, and the German parent, who does not value the loss of his mother tongue, has no cause to fear that the education of his children would suffer because of his immigration.

"A moderate amount of property, good guidance, medical aid for the first two years of residence, and the presence of friends from the Fatherland—these are the true conditions of successful immigration.

"The foregoing you must not interpret to mean that it is less healthful here than in Germany. Because in such undertakings even a slight ailment can cause the greatest disturbance; for this reason medical protection is more necessary here than at home, even tho nothing were to be feared of the privations connected with the first settlement. The state of Missouri on account of its clear sky is much more conducive to good health than is Germany. Whoever considers Germany, and central Europe generally, as a very healthful land, is lacking in ability to compare it with other regions of the earth.

"If a little city could be founded, for the purpose of making it the center of culture for the Germans in America, then there would soon arise a rejuvenated Germania, and the European Germans would then find in America a second

Fatherland, just as the British have it.⁹ Would that in Germany a lively interest might develop for this project. No plan of the present time promises so much to the individual and to everyone as a plan of founding such a nursery for German culture in western North America, and especially in the lands west of the Mississippi. It would make the new world at once a home to the German, and would add to the gifts of nature those things which must always emanate from man himself. There is no cause for fear that any kind of political hindrance or envy on the part of the Americans would oppose such an enterprise. German immigrants are always welcome here, and as soon as they have entered upon the new continent they are regarded equal to the citizens,—barring, of course, the political rights, which are dependent upon a residence of five years, and at first are more of a hindrance than a help to him. I have already said, in another place, that even a foreigner may acquire land in the state of Missouri. A plan could be easily consummated, whereby the interests of science and the interest of profit could be most advantageously combined. The purchase of a tract of land for the purpose of laying out a town thereon is here a sure means of making money. The lands west of the Mississippi are for the natural scientist almost entirely a *terra incognita*. With slight expense scientific societies could support their representatives here. These representatives would not find it contrary to their main purpose to serve the young colonies as teachers in the higher sciences.

"How many men there are in Germany who have a capital of from four to six thousand Thaler (a Thaler is about seventy-five cents) without having any prospect of using it except to consume it by and by! Such a sum, however, is

⁹Such a town was actually founded in 1837 on an extensive tract of land, which was bought by a German society of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It was given the typically German name of HERMANN. Its site is on the south bank of the Missouri in Gasconade County, Missouri, about thirty miles west of Duden's farm. Tho the original dream of the founders did not materialize, the town of Hermann is to this day uniquely German. For a detailed account of this undertaking and a history of Hermann compare Bek's *The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony, Hermann, Missouri*, Americana Germanica Press, Philadelphia, 1907.

more than abundant for the happy life of a whole family on the banks of the Missouri, even tho eight hundred to a thousand Thaler should be deduced as traveling expenses—provided that proper guidance is not wanting. With the above sum an immigrant could purchase two adult slaves, a man and a woman, which would cost him twelve hundred Thaler, and could establish himself in such a manner that he could live happier, and especially more carefree in view of the future lot of his numerous posterity, than he could in Germany with six times that amount. If the farmer is able to take care of his land himself, one thousand Thaler will be sufficient, if his transportation to America has otherwise been provided for. I am counting on one hundred and fifty to two hundred Thaler for eighty acres of land; forty-five to sixty Thaler for clearing and fencing five or seven acres; one hundred and twenty Thaler for two horses; twenty-six Thaler for two cows; twelve Thaler for two sows; one hundred for the buildings, and an equal amount for furniture. This makes at the most six hundred and eighteen Thaler. Thus there remains almost four hundred Thaler for other and less essential things, and in order to feel more at ease. If of this excess two hundred Thaler more are applied to the house, then the immigrant will certainly live better than the peasants in Germany, who till their own land, are accustomed to live. A quarter of a German mile from here there lives a planter by the name of Jacob Haun. He began to establish his homestead seven years ago. Because he possessed hardly one hundred Thaler, he lived, at first, on government land, and tried to earn there the amount required to buy one hundred and sixty acres of land. Then he carried on the work of the farmer on his own property, in the ordinary manner, and, without any outside help, acquired property worth three thousand Thaler. In the meantime his wife bore him five children. His household consumes annually more than twelve hundred pounds of pork, an ox weighing from to six hundred pounds, and several dozen chickens. In addition ten or twelve deer are shot and a great number of turkeys.

(The hunter does not waste any powder on the quail. These the children catch in traps.) Who would believe that so much meat could be consumed by a single household consisting of two adults and five children of which the oldest is hardly six years? Some of it is consumed by guests, of course. But the great amount that is required is due to the spendthrift way of handling this object, which is cheaper here than the most ordinary vegetable in Europe.

"There is general complaint in Germany on account of the decrease of marriages, and the superficial moralist sets up a cry of immorality, without considering that poverty is the real cause of this condition, and that immorality is simply its consequence, and indeed the unavoidable consequence. Only a thoughtless person can raise a family without considering the future prospect of his children. Among the lower classes marriages have not decreased, tho their morals have become worse and worse. That is a lamentable and unnatural condition of our poor Fatherland, a condition which will never be corrected of its own accord. The only reasonable remedy for it is a general furtherance of emigration. There is no holier duty for the German states than to care for good guidance and direction of such emigration. To seek to oppose it, when apparently it is the instinctive course of action, is simply to oppose nature and reason. The blame for the unfortunate consequences cannot be attributed to the uncultured classes, but must rest upon the shoulders of those whose duty it is to assist them by counsel and advice in their distresses of life. When the conditions imposed on wealthy emigrants are lightened, and their enterprise is furthered; when the state assumes the faithful guidance to the new fatherland; when benevolent societies are formed to help even the poor to go to countries, where the alluring gifts of nature accustom even the beggar to regularity of action, then will the lamentable reports concerning emigration soon cease. Unfortunately just the opposite has hitherto been done in Germany. But time, which has ere this blotted out so much systematic nonsense, will also correct this madness of population-seeking states, which in reality are already over-populated.

"The above conditions of emigration apply only to those who choose to pursue agriculture chiefly. Hitherto I have spoken, almost exclusively, of the prospects of agriculture, which are so splendid that during the whole of the present century they cannot become worse, even after the immigration of millions. It is of course manifest that in a country which rests upon such a physical basis as this one does, the other trades must also prosper, provided only that legislation remains passive and avoids foolish interference. There are but few trades which do not prosper here. The prospects are most favorable for tanners, skilled mechanics, joiners, masons, carpenters, saddlers and blacksmiths. To the tanners I wish to say that hides and dyeing materials are extremely cheap, while, on the other hand, leather is expensive. The saddlers I wish to note, that in this country no one goes on foot. There is a great lack of glass factories. A common flask costs twelve and a half cents in St. Louis. Earthenware, too, is very dear. There is no lack of good clay, and since private ownership does not hinder in its utilization and in the selection of sites where it may be obtained, finer varieties of clay, suitable for finer and more delicate vessels, will doubtless soon be discovered, and indeed, perhaps, in the proximity of navigable rivers and near dense forest. Beer brewers would quickly become rich on the Missouri, tho they would have to see to the raising of hops and barley themselves, since little attention has been paid to the cultivation of these two crops. St. Louis derives its beer from Pittsburg, and even from the Atlantic coast. The manufacturers of chemicals and of medicines would find in all the western states enticing opportunities for their business. I need hardly add that master builders are always welcome in this land of ceaseless town building.

"Immigrants who intend to take up trade must settle in or, at least, near cities. There they may expect to have medical aid, which is as good as in Europe. There the necessity of having social intercourse with friends of the Fatherland will not appear so necessary either. One condition,

however, is imperative for every immigrant, namely this: Bring some capital with you. Even tho the trades do not require capital to begin with, nevertheless, it is problematic whether the new-comer would find work at once. Moreover, it is a question whether he, under the new conditions, would be able to find employment long enough to secure a slight reserve to fall back upon in case of sickness. If, under such circumstances, he should be inclined to ask for alms, as is the custom sometimes, he would come into disrepute, which would make a rapid promotion next to impossible. Quite especially must I warn the prospective German immigrant against entertaining the hope of earning his support by mere day labor. In the interior of America the German would find most of the tasks of the day laborer quite new and unknown to him. He must first learn them and gradually become accustomed to them, otherwise his health will fail in a few weeks, and in spite of the greatest exertion he will not be able to accomplish half of what another can do quite easily without in the least endangering his health. The tasks of the day-laborer are: grubbing out tree stumps, killing trees by girdling them, felling of trees, and splitting rails for the fences. The latter kind of work is wholly unknown in Germany, and without practice one's energy is in a very large measure wasted. Of the lot of those unfortunate ones, finally, who give themselves over to a temporary state of slavery, in order to pay for their passage across the ocean, I do not wish to speak at all. Only a galley-slave can find a betterment of his condition in such a state. They are called redemptionists or white slaves here. They have a much harder lot than the negro slave, and it is incomprehensible to me how certain German writers can pass so lightly over this matter. Mere selfishness, if nothing else, make it imperative upon the owner to take care of the negro's health. Besides the negro is accustomed to the climate, most of them call America their fatherland and have never known freedom. The poor Europeans, who fancy to have gained admission to the land of their dreams, after the hardships of the journey find themselves cast into

fetters of slavery for a sum which a healthy day-laborer could earn in six months, while they are kept in this bondage for a period of five or seven and even more years. Wives are separated from their husbands and children from their parents, perhaps never to see each other again. For the very reason that but little can be expected of such laborers during the first years, the period of services is much prolonged. Let no one imagine that these first years are easy years. They are the hardest of all. The fact that a few have worked themselves thru and have later become rich does not alter the general condition at all. Ten perish miserably where one succeeds.

"Therefore I repeat: Emigration without some capital is a risk which only the most dire necessity should impel one to undertake."

Then we read the injunction to immigrants that they must use their brain with their brawn if they hope to succeed in America. The difference between American and European agriculture, so often mentioned, are again reiterated, always to the advantage of America. Due warning is given not to let the cheapness and excellence of the land induce one to buy too much land. The sad condition of one thus 'land-poor' is depicted.

The remainder of this letter, for it is in two parts, deals with the prosperous condition of the Free States, their finances, their military strength, and their postal system.

As proof that the North Americans are progressive, he points to the various canals that have been built or are in the process of construction at the time of his writing, viz. the canal between the Hudson and Lake Erie, the canal connecting the Ohio with Lake Erie, the canal at Louisville around the falls of the Ohio, the canal circumventing the Niagara Falls. Then we read: "A few days ago I learned that a plan has been worked out to construct a railroad from Chesapeake Bay across the Alleghany Mountains to the Ohio." To this we find a foot note subjoined which reads thus: "This is not merely a plan anymore. Its execution was begun as early

as 1828. A stock company with a capital of several million dollars was formed in a few weeks, during my stay in Baltimore. If the work is really brought to completion, it must arouse the astonishment of the whole world. An arrangement will be made whereby from twelve to twenty freight cars can be fastened to one another which can be quickly transported along by a single locomotive. Railroads will have this advantage over canals, that ice can not interfere with them." Duden recognizes that the use of steamboats and railroads will have an effect upon the development of America such as to make it impossible to divine the future by the conditions of the past. The remainder of the letter deals with statistical facts derived from the reports of the United States Treasurer, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Postmaster General. The army, according to the report, including the general staff, the engineering corps, and the medical staff numbered 5719 men. There was no cavalry and no field artillery. The navy consisted of seven battleships, six frigates of the first class, four frigates of the second class, two corvettes, five sloops, and nine small warships, moreover a number of schooners and brigs. On the wharfs there are in the process of construction five battleships, four frigates and three sloops. The Postmaster General's report showed that from July, 1823, to the 24th of November, 1825, new post offices to the number of 1040 had been established. The number of employees of this branch of service was roughly estimated to be between fifteen and twenty thousand. The income from July 1, 1824, to July 1, 1825, was about one and one-fourth million, and the expenditure for this same time about one and one-fifth million.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The papers printed in this issue of the *Review* cover a range of subject matter as well as of years. Mr. White's paper is concerned with commercial life in Missouri during the first fifty years of the nineteenth century. Mr. Britton's article deals with religious, economic, political and military affairs in Northwest Missouri during the '30s. Dr. Bek again takes the reader back to pioneer life in Missouri in the '20s, and Dr. Viles covers a century of Missouri capitals and capitols.

"The Missouri Merchant One Hundred Years Ago," by Mr. John B. White, president of the Missouri Valley Historical Society, at Kansas City, Missouri, throws interesting sidelights on business conditions in pioneer Missouri. The methods of barter and exchange, the measures of value, the prices of commodities, and the opportunities presented the storekeeper and trader of a century past, are set forth. The world prominence of St. Louis today as a raw fur center was laid in those early years. The men who founded that city and developed her industrial life were empire builders. So were those merchant traders who setting out from old Franklin, Independence, and St. Joseph traversed the plains, crossed the mountains, and explored and trapped and traded to the Coast. The Missouri merchant one hundred years ago was not only a shopkeeper but frequently the head of an enterprising business which involved trips to Baltimore and Philadelphia, and expeditions to the far West. Much of Missouri's early prosperity was linked with the success of this pioneer merchant-trader, who hand in hand with the lead-miner and the farmer laid the basis of Missouri's economic wealth.

"Early Days on Grand River and The Mormon War," by Mr. Rollin J. Britton, of Kansas City, Missouri, is replete with documentary material relating to this interesting historical subject. Mr. Britton is exceptionally well qualified to write

on the history of the Mormons in Missouri. This subject can never be finally and satisfactorily handled unless the author takes an impersonal point of view. Mr. Britton has done this. As a lawyer in his former home at Gallatin, Missouri, he collected data for years. He specialized in the history of Northwest Missouri, the Mormons in Missouri, and the career of Col. Alexander W. Doniphan. The article in this *Review* reveals his scholarly research work.

The readers of the *Review* will learn with regret that the April (1919) issue will contain the last article of Dr. Bek's translation of "Duden's Report." This series of articles has kept the attention of hundreds of readers of Missouri history for over a year. A prominent banker in the State recently informed us that whenever the *Review* came, he laid aside work to read "Duden," because of his scholarly and accurate description of pioneer Missouri. Fortunately for the *Review*, Dr. Bek will begin a new series of illustrated articles in the July (1919) *Review* on "The Followers of Duden." The new series will be translations of old diaries and letters kept by those who, having read "Duden's 'Report'," were induced to immigrate to Missouri. The unlocking of these old records will reveal treasures of historical material relating to the State.

"Missouri Capitals and Capitols," by Dr. Jonas Viles, of the University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, is the result of several years of labor by this eminent and scholarly Missouri historian. The subject is interesting and has attracted the attention of several writers. A number of popular articles have been written on Missouri's many capitols and on her three seats of government. From the beginning of Missouri state history in 1820, this subject ranked high in legislative discussion and decision. The state Constitutional Convention of 1820 was more concerned and spent more time in drafting and adopting Article XI, "Of the Permanent Seat of Government," and Section 6 of the "Schedule," on the meeting place of the first State General Assembly, than it was in any other subject, except perhaps the salaries of officials. The same

condition prevailed at the first session of the first State General Assembly. All this has been known to historians, and is not unique in the history of western American commonwealths. The first State Constitutional Convention of Illinois in 1818 had the same problem. The location of the state capitol, the state prison and later the state university and other institutions, were matters of the greatest concern to the people and the politicians of a hundred years ago.

In Dr. Viles' article will be noted many new angles to this question. Some are amusing, as the interdependence of the state penitentiary and the state capitol. Again, the capital city land claims against the state after the supposed absence of such litigation was a chief inducement in the selection of Jefferson City as the capital. Two facts stand out in this article that should be the pride of all Missourians—the seeming absence of graft in the building of all of Missouri's capitols and in the selecting of both her temporary and permanent capitols. Both are rare in the history of states.

The sixth article on "Missouri and the War" will be included in the April (1919) issue of the *Review*. Final data on Missouri's war honors and heroism and on Missouri's Roll of Honor could not be obtained from the Government's publications when this number went to press. It was thought advisable to wait until a complete summary could be made. The official figures in detail on Missouri's response to the Fourth Liberty Loan had also not been published by the St. Louis and Kansas City Federal Reserve Districts. It is hoped that these will be available by February as well as official figures on the state's part in the 1918 Thrift Stamps and War Savings purchases.

GENERAL

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

Owing to the influenza epidemic and the ban placed on public meetings in Columbia, the Annual Meeting of The State Historical Society of Missouri scheduled on December 13th was postponed indefinitely. The report of the Secretary of the Society on behalf of the Executive Committee, would

have revealed some interesting statements of progress. During this biennial period the Society's annual membership showed a net increase of ninety-three—the largest in the Society's history. The total membership is now eleven hundred and forty-five. The Society's library was increased by the addition of 11,721 titles of which 7,293 were books and 4,328 were pamphlets. The total number of titles in the library is now 79,083, besides 101,000 duplicates of Missouri official publications. The most notable single addition of books and pamphlets during 1917-1918 was the General Oden Guitar collection. This included 95 books, 285 pamphlets, 206 manuscripts, 16 old political Missouri broadsides (very rare), and 17 prints. The newspaper department invoiced 7,312 bound volumes on January 1, 1917, today this number has increased to 9,236,—a gain of 26%. In no previous biennial period has this department witnessed so large an increase. The Society's library staff is now composed of five regular employed persons and one on the hour employment basis.

A HISTORY OF MISSOURI, BY EUGENE MORROW VIOLETTE:
(D. C. HEALTH & CO., BOSTON, 1918.)

This new history of Missouri by Professor E. M. Violette of the Kirksville (Missouri) State Normal School is written, as he points out in the preface, with a twofold purpose; to fill the need of a new manual of Missouri history and to provide a book of reference to be used in the high schools of the state in connection with courses in American history. The plan is to give "no space..... to things that are strictly local. The effort has been to deal with only those topics in Missouri history that have significance in the history of the nation." "A statement is made at the beginning of each chapter indicating the subject in our national history that constitutes the historical setting for that chapter." The general purpose of the book, then, is to present certain aspects of Missouri history which are parts of national movements, but not to provide a complete and exhaustive manual of Missouri history.

The author's problems have evidently been largely ones

of selection and viewpoint. As to selection, of the twenty-three chapters and 466 pages of the body of the book, five chapters of 98 pages are devoted to Missouri before 1820; a chapter of 41 pages to the admission of Missouri; a chapter each to Early Banking, Doniphan's Expedition, Missouri and the Far West, the Mormons, and the Railroads, in all 110 pages, devoted to the most part to the period 1820 to 1850; a chapter of 36 pages to the Downfall of Benton; one of 18 pages to Slavery; another of the same length to Border Troubles; five totalling 85 pages to the Civil War period; one of 17 pages to Radical Rule; one of 12 pages to politics, 1872 to 1876; one of 6 pages to the Free Silver movement; and in conclusion a chapter of 25 pages on Recent Economic and Social Development. About half the book then is devoted to the period before 1821 and the decade 1860 to 1870; and at least ninety per cent of it to the period before 1876.

On the topics which he treats Professor Violette has used with care and intelligence the best secondary accounts available. The bibliographies at the ends of the chapters and at the close of the book show neither the omission of studies of importance nor the inclusion of books of dubious value. In a work so largely factual in treatment it is impossible for the reviewer to verify all statements, but a rather careful examination convinces me that the book contains very few positive errors in facts. The proof reading and the index confirm this impression of careful workmanship.

However, in my opinion the attempt to correlate Missouri history with national history has not been strikingly successful. As a matter of fact it is confined to a very great degree to the brief statements of "Historical Setting" at the heads of the chapters and even here the correlation is sometimes rather arbitrary. Chapter V, "Conditions in Missouri during the Territorial Period" has for its historical setting "The Missouri Compromise;" Chapter IX, "Missouri and the Far West," is connected with "The War between the United States and Mexico;" in neither case is the setting mentioned in the body of the chapter. "Pioneer Life" and "National Expansion

into the Far West" would seem to be more natural settings. But the greater weakness of this interesting attempt at correlation is after all the failure to emphasize it more consistently. During the period to which much of the book is devoted Missouri was at once a frontier and a border state; it might perhaps be fairly expected that Missouri history would be discussed as illustrating and explaining these topics in national history. This viewpoint is not very prominent in much of the discussion of the topics actually treated; besides, it seems to demand a consideration of some topics omitted. For example, a chapter on Jacksonian Democracy in Missouri, written around the earlier career of Benton and Missouri politics, 1820-40, would strengthen very much the treatment of that period—far more than the chapter on Early Banking, or even that on the Mormons, good as the latter is.

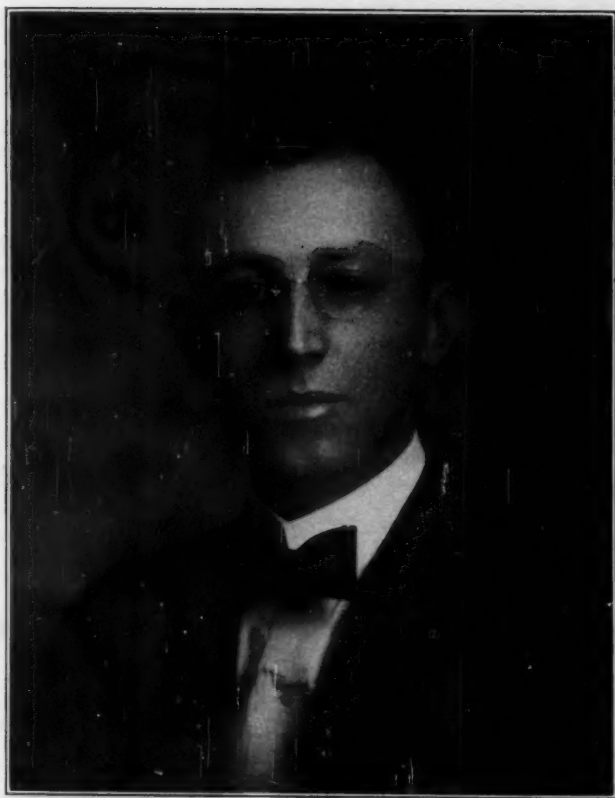
But those of us who have attempted any serious writing on Missouri history know all too well the difficulties and discouragements. Only here and there was there islands of reputable and reliable studies, rising from the confusion of unorganized source material. The difficulties are especially trying to one attempting a manual covering, if only from one point of view, the whole period. What Professor Violette has done has been to confine himself for the most part to topics on which there is reasonably satisfactory secondary material, and treat these topics with care and accuracy, tho not always, perhaps, with as much connection with national development as is possible. It certainly is not his fault that these topics are as yet so few; it is ill to make bricks without straw, and it is certainly unfair to demand that the writer of a manual engage in elaborate investigations of source material. The fact is that it is not yet possible to write an adequate survey of Missouri history even in its national aspects. Professor Violette has given us what is on the whole the best single volume on Missouri history available to the general reader.—*Jonas Viles.*

IN MEMORIAM

IVAN HOLLIS EPPERSON.
1888-1918.

Perhaps the most notable sacrifice Macon County offered on the altar of patriotism was that of Ivan Hollis Epperson, who died at sea October 11, and was buried in the cemetery, in the community where he was reared, in the presence of a large crowd of friends and relatives, most of them people who had known him from his birth.

Ivan was the son of Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Epperson, who live on a farm near Macon. He was born in the western part of Macon County, July 11, 1888. In his seventeenth year he united with the Christian church at LaPlata. Soon after finishing the public schools he entered the newspaper business, serving two years as assistant in the publication of the *La Plata Home Press*, and later took charge as editor and manager. It was while in that position that Ivan decided on his career. He would be an editor and publisher, and to reach the highest degree of service in those callings, he resigned his position with the *Home Press* after three successful years' management of that paper and entered the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri, at Columbia. While there he became interested in history, and the more he delved into it the more he liked it. He accepted a position in the State Historical Society of Missouri as chief of the newspaper and document departments. A mutual attachment sprang up between Mr. Epperson and Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, editor of the *Missouri Historical Review*. This pleasant association continued with ever-growing strength until the winter of 1917, when Mr. Epperson, impelled by a sense of duty to his country, enlisted at the Great Lakes Naval Station, and, after some months of preparation was assigned to duty as a seaman on the large United States Transport George Washington.



IVAN HOLLIS EPPERSON
1888-1918

As contributor to the *Missouri Historical Review*, Mr. Epperson wrote a number of sketches about notable Missourians. Among the latest was one covering the life of General John J. Pershing, the victorious commander of the American Expeditionary Force, and later the Army of Occupation in Germany. It was written with good tact, a keen sense of General Pershing's well known modesty, and his aversion to anything like excessive laudation. It presented to the American public a picture of the commander that has been pronounced by those who knew him best as remarkably accurate. Only a man of infinite modesty himself and capable of appreciating that trait in others could have written it.

The thing that brought Ivan steadfast friends was his sincerity. Beginning with an absolute faith in God, he also believed in his fellow-men. The writer never recalls having heard him use a critical or sneering word about anybody. Whether talking with men or women it was all one—the language he used and the things he spoke of while with men might always be repeated with perfect propriety among the gentlest of women. It was as though his mother were always by, listening. His mind was as free from impurity as the falling snow. When he spoke it was to present an idea, a thought, never just to be talking. The trait is rare for one of his years. He appreciated the value of time, and that he must be up and doing if he would reach the mark he had set. Having taken his own measurement, he felt the editorial department was the one he would be best fitted to fill on a newspaper, and was giving himself the training necessary to make good. He liked the study of history, civil government, men and events, rightly weighing their knowledge as the proper equipment for the profession he had chosen.

Mr. Epperson's death was occasioned by pneumonia. It occurred while his ship was making the fourth voyage across. The remains were sent to Macon county by the government, and interred in the picturesque cemetery near the scenes where Ivan lived and played as a boy. On the large white casket was a broad United States flag. The grave was lined with cloth

representing the national colors, red, white and blue. Elder George Edwards, of the Primitive Baptist church, delivered a short, but impressive ceremony. Then the choir, composed of good friends Ivan had known all his life, sang as the concluding hymn:

"I am longing for the coming of the snow-white
angel hand,

That shall bear my weary spirit to the sinless summer land."—*Edgar White, Macon, Mo.*

WAR MEMORIALS:

The signing of the armistice has turned the attention of the Nation from war to peace. The problems of reconstruction seem greater than the plans of battle. All unite to support the latter, but even patriots blaze different paths to solve the former. War concentrates the people's efforts in one direction, supplies them with a common purpose. Peace invites them to renew old differences, separates them thru divergence of motives and ideals. Individualistic principles run counter to collectivism theories, profits come to conflict with wages and service, business struggles with new conditions and higher standards of living, and inflated prices are defended and denounced by the same household. War, has, however, left one unity of purpose in the minds of all classes. This is a loving wish and a purposed plan to erect War Memorials. To this Missouri and Missourians have already given unanimous expression.

The forms of such memorials will probably be diverse. Some counties are suggesting memorial armories, some Y. M. C. A. "Huts," others monuments and statues and parks, and others loan-funds to needy soldiers and their families. All are good. Local conditions, the personnel of the local committee, the inclination of the local editor, will determine largely the final selection. Objections can be raised against any form of memorial, but this should not be permitted to defeat the general proposition. The loyal citizens of Missouri owe it to themselves and to their men in arms, to erect a permanent memorial to their part in this war.

The *Review* has been requested to express an opinion on this patriotic and historical movement. It feels hesitant to do this in the face of such a wealth of suggestions.

A War Memorial should embody honor to the martyred heroes, the brave survivors, and the civilian supporters of that war. It should, if possible, be both a pillar of patriotic strength and aid to the living and a dedicated monument to the dead. If possible, it should also be a work of helpfulness to the rising and future generations. The *Review* would dedi-

cate such a memorial to the patriotic past, would have it commemorate the patriotic present, and would leave it as a guide to make patriotism endure.

A WAR MEMORIAL BUILDING in each county and in every town of size would embody these ideals. It would stand as a monument to a people's patriotism and democracy. In it should be the home and quarters of a local historical society and museum—thus combining in one, a memorial to the dead, a monument to the living, and an educational and patriotic shrine for those coming after us. The War Memorial Building might well be constructed to serve as a library where such a building does not exist in a county, town or city. On its walls chiseled in marble should be the names of those who gave their all that we might continue to enjoy untrampled the blessings of liberty. In its chambers could be displayed the weapons of this and former wars and the relics of pioneer days. In its book stacks and shelves could be kept the records of those who have contributed to our civilization. Such a work presents great possibilities. A small auditorium where lectures to adults and historical instruction to children may be given, could well be added. This building would become the civic center to the resident and the city's pride to the visitor. Without encroaching on church, library or school it would stand as the handmaid of all. Such a War Memorial would be a shrine, a monument, and an educational and patriotic and historical social center. Its value would grow with the years, and generations yet unborn would find in it their most sacred treasures.

PERSONAL.

JOSEPH T. BIRD: Born near Washington, New York, July 4, 1848; died at Colorado Springs, Colorado, September 8, 1918. He came to Kansas City in 1868 and became a clerk in a store then familiarly known as "Bullene's". In 1875 he bought an interest in the store, and in 1881 became a full partner in the firm of Bullene, Moore, Emery & Co. This firm later developed into the present company known as

Emery, Bird, Thayer Dry Goods Company. Mr. Bird gradually acquired a controlling interest in the firm, and in 1912 was made its president.

HON. T. D. EVANS: Born in Madison County, Kentucky, September 6, 1844; died at Meadville, Missouri, July 23, 1918. He came to Missouri when twelve years of age, settling first in Pettis County and later at Meadville in Linn County. During the Civil War he saw active service with the Sixty-Second Regiment, Missouri State Militia. In 1882 he was elected judge of the county court and was re-elected in 1884. In 1890 he was elected as Linn County's representative in the Missouri Legislature.

HON. FRANK C. HAYMAN: Born in a military garrison at Fort Lawson, Indian Territory, January 8, 1854; died at Sedalia, Missouri, October 29, 1918. His father was General S. B. Hayman of the U. S. Army. He graduated from the University of Michigan in 1873 and afterwards spent two years traveling in Europe. He came to Missouri in 1877 and engaged extensively in farming and stock raising. He was elected State Senator from the Fifteenth district in 1906 and served one term.

CAPT. HUNTER BEN JENKINS: Born in Allegheny City, Virginia, February 22, 1839; died at St. Louis, Missouri, September 9, 1918. In 1855 he started a steamboat career as mail clerk on the steamer Gossamer, which plied the Mississippi and tributary streams. He later owned a number of steamboats on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and was at different times river editor of the *St. Louis Republic*, the old *St. Louis Chronicle*, the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, and the *New Orleans Times-Democrat*.

HON. CHARLES McDONALD MATTHEWS: Born in Gasconade County, Missouri, November 11, 1836; died in Gasconade County October 2, 1918. He served in the Union Army during the Civil War. After the close of the war he was for twelve years judge of the Gasconade County court and in 1892 was elected to the lower house of the Missouri General Assembly from Gasconade County. He was noted as one of the pioneer advocates of good roads.

HON. JACOB E. MEEKER: Born in Fountain County, Indiana, October 7, 1878; died at St. Louis, Missouri, October 16, 1918. He was educated at Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida; Union Christian College Merom, Indiana; and Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Ohio. He came to St. Louis in 1904 and was for a time pastor of the Compton Hill Congregational Church, but later studied law at the Benton School of Law in that city and gave up religious work and entered politics. He was elected United States Congressman from the Tenth Missouri district in 1914, re-elected in 1916, and had been renominated by the Republican party for a third term.

DR. AUGUST HENRY RICKHOFF: Born in Warren County, Missouri, June 28, 1864; died at Warrenton, Missouri, August 4, 1918. He received his education in the public schools of Warren County, in the Northern Indiana Normal School, and in the Medical school of the University of Louisville, Kentucky. He served as coroner of Osage County, Missouri, for six years; was local surgeon of the Missouri Pacific Railroad for thirteen years; was mayor of Chamois, Missouri, eight years; and represented Osage County in the Forty-Ninth General Assembly, serving on the Committees on Militia, Library, Public Health and Scientific Institutions.

HON. HENRY F. STAPEL: Born in Dearborn County, Indiana, September 30, 1857; died at Omaha, Nebraska, September 11, 1918. He was graduated from the State Normal School at Penn, Nebraska, in 1878 and studied law at the University of Michigan, graduating from that institution in 1884. However, he never practiced law, but on January 1, 1885, purchased the *Atchison County Mail* at Rock Port, Missouri, and continued as its owner and publisher until his death. He was secretary of the Farmers' Mutual Insurance Company of Atchison County and organized the first county mutual insurance company in the State. He was postmaster at Rock Port during Cleveland's administration and was a member of the State Legislature in 1907 as representative from Atchison County.

v



